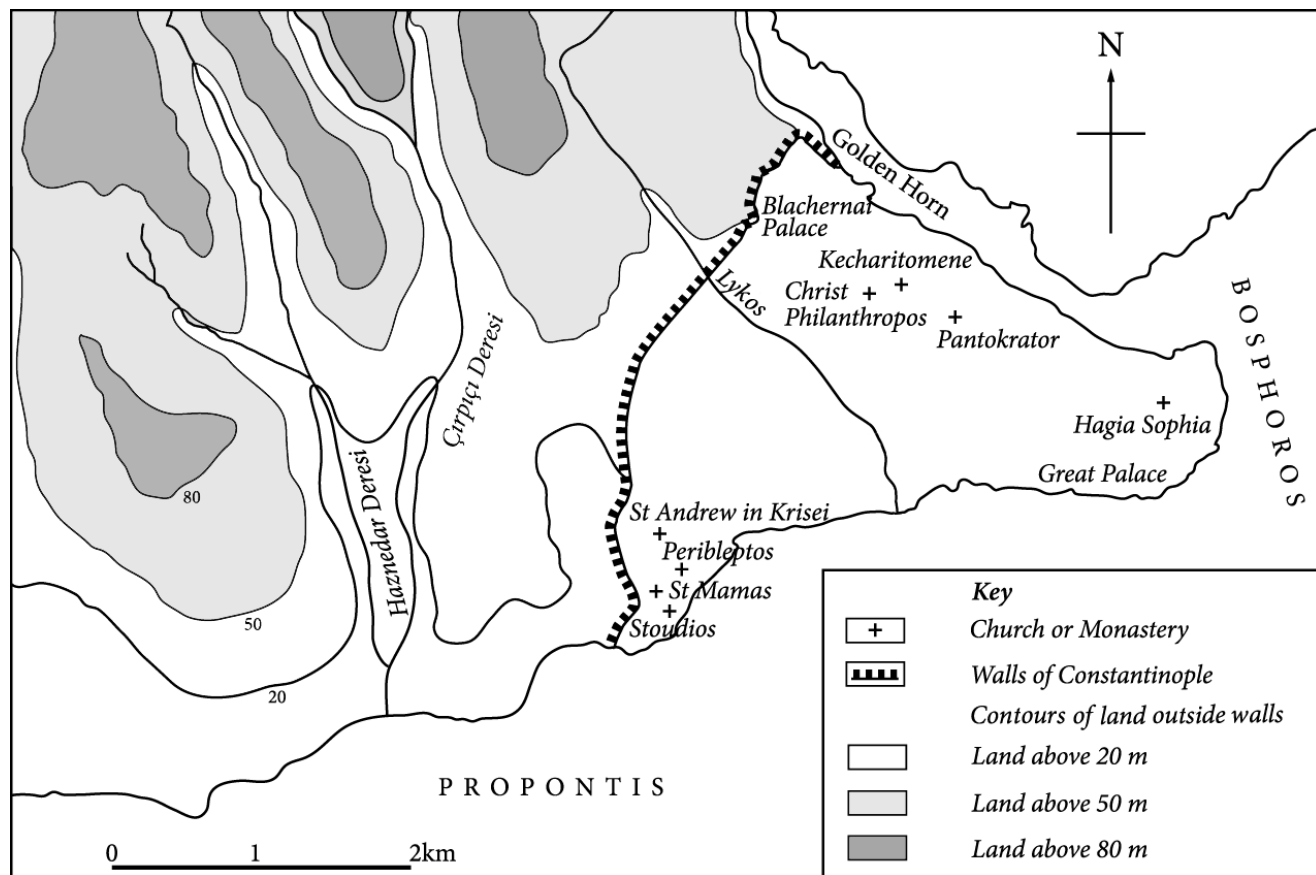


# The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th–12th Centuries)

Introduction, Translation and Commentary

R. H. Jordan and  
Rosemary Morris

THE HYPOTYPOSIS OF THE MONASTERY OF THE  
THEOTOKOS EVERGETIS, CONSTANTINOPLE  
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# Abbreviations

- AthanasiosRule* Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery, trans. G. Dennis, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 11, 205–31
- AthanasiosTest Testament* of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery, trans. G. Dennis, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 14, 271–80
- AthanasiosTyp Typikon* of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery, trans. G. Dennis, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 13, 245–70
- AttaleiatesRule* Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktirmon* in Constantinople, trans. A.-M. Talbot, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 19, 326–76
- AuxentiosTyp Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon, trans. G. Dennis, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 37, 1207–36
- BebaiaElpisTyp Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople, trans. A.-M. Talbot, *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 57, 1512–78
- BEMII* Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, I, *Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. Vranoussi; II, *Δημοσίων λειτουργιών*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980)
- BBTT Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations (Belfast, 1991–2007)
- BMFD* *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero with G. Constable, 5 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 25, Washington, DC, 2000) [http://www.doaks.org/publications/doaks\\_online\\_publications/typ000.html](http://www.doaks.org/publications/doaks_online_publications/typ000.html)
- BMGs* *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (Oxford, Birmingham, Leeds, 1975–)
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig and Munich, 1892–)
- CFHB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington, 1967–; Berlin, 1967–; Brussels, 1975–; Rome, 1975–; Vienna, 1975–; Thessalonike, 1980–; Paris, 1984–; Athens, 1990–)
- ChristodoulosRule* Rule, Testament and Codicil of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, trans. P. Karlin-Hayter, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 24, 564–606
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, DC, 1951–)



- Elegmoi*Typ *Typikon* of Nikephoros *mystikos* for the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Heliou Bomon* or *Elegmon*, trans. A. Bandy, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 33, 1042–91
- Eleousa*Inv *Inventory* of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza, trans. A. Bandy with N. Ševčenko, *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 61, 1667–78
- Eleousa*Rule *Rule* of Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza, for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Eleousa*, trans. A. Bandy, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 10, 167–91
- EO Echos d'Orient* (Paris, Constantinople, Bucharest, 1898–1943)
- Euthymios*Test *Testament* of Euthymios for the Monasteries of Psamathia and *Ta Agathou*, trans. P. Karlin-Hayter, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 5, 120–124
- EvSynag* *Εὐεργετινὸς ἦτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν Θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλίων τῶν Θεοφθόρων καὶ ἀγίων πατέρων*, ed. Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites (Venice, 1783; 6th ed. in 4 vols, repr. Athens, 1996–1997); Eng. tr. Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios *et al.* (Etna, CA, 1988–)
- EvSynax* *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, ed. and tr. R.H. Jordan, 3 vols (BBTT 6.5; 6.6 and 6.7, Belfast, 2000–2007)
- EvTyp* *Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*, trans. R. Jordan, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 22, 454–506
- JÖB Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (Vienna, 1969–) (= *JÖBG Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Vienna, 1951–1968)
- Lampe G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961–1968)
- LSJ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones with R. McKenzie, *Greek- English Lexicon* (9th ed., Oxford, 1996)
- John*Test *Testament* of John of Rila, trans. I. Iliev, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 6, 125–34
- Kecharitomene*Typ *Typikon* of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople, trans. R. Jordan, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 27, 649–724
- Kosmosoteira*Typ *Typikon* of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Kosmosoteira* near Bera, trans. N. Patterson Ševčenko, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 29, 782–858
- Lips*Typ *Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople, trans. A.-M. Talbot, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 39, 1254–86
- Machairas*Rule *Rule* of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of *Machairas* in Cyprus, trans. A. Bandy, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 34, 1107–75
- Mamas*Typ *Typikon* of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople, trans. A. Bandy, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 32, 973–1041

- Menoikeion*Typ *Typikon* of Joachim, Metropolitan of Zichna, for the Monastery of St John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion near Serres, trans. T. Miller, *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 58, 1579–1612
- MM *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860–90; repr. Aalen, 1968)
- Monomachos*Typ *Typikon* of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, trans. T. Miller, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 15, 281–93
- Neilos*Test Testament of Neilos for the Monastery of St John the Forerunner (*Prodromos*) on Mount Athos, trans. S. Reinert, *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 48, 1389–95
- Neophytos*Test Testamentary Rule of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus, trans. C. Galatariotou, *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 45, 1338–73
- OC *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome, 1923–34)
- OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Rome, 1935–)
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome, 1935–)
- ODB *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan *et al.*, 3 vols (New York/Oxford, 1991)
- Pakourianos*Typ *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Petrizonitissa* in Bačkovó, trans. R. Jordan, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 23, 507–63
- Pantokrator*Typ *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople, trans. R. Jordan, *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 28, 725–81
- Paul*Test Testament of Paul the Younger for the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* on Mount Latros, trans. G. Fiaccadori, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 7, 135–42
- PBW *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*: <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66; 1880–1903)
- Phoberos*Rule Rule of John for the Monastery of St John the Forerunner of *Phoberos*, trans. R. Jordan, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 30, 872–953
- PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzzeit* (Vienna, 1976–94)
- PP *Past and Present* (London, 1952–)
- ProC *Proche-Orient Chrétien* (Jerusalem, 1951–)
- REB *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 4– (Paris, 1946–)
- RPG.A. Rhalles and M. Potles (eds), *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852–59, repr. 1966)
- SC *Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1955–)

- SkoteinëTest Testament* of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia, trans. G. Dennis, *BMFD*, vol. 3, no. 35, 1176–95
- TheodoreRule Rule* of the Monastery of St John Stoudios in Constantinople, trans. T. Miller, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 4, 84–119
- TheodoreTest Testament* of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St John Stoudios in Constantinople, trans. T. Miller, *BMFD*, vol. 1, no. 3, 67–83
- TIB Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger *et al.* (Vienna, 1976–)
- TM Travaux et Mémoires* (Paris, 1965–)
- TU *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1882–)
- VV Vizantiiskii Vremennik* (Moscow, 1947–) (= *Byzantina Chronika*, St Petersburg, 1894–1928)
- ZbRad Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija Nauka* (Belgrade, 1952–)

# Notes on Transliteration and Biblical References

We have transliterated Greek names and terms using k for the Greek kappa and maintaining the -os -e endings rather than imposing Latinised spelling with c and -us -a endings; we have, however, made no distinction between long and short vowels. The forms of common Christian names and place names are those most familiar to English readers.

Citations from the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha can sometimes vary according to the text and translation used. In our case we have used: for the Old Testament, the Septuagint, ed. A. Rahlfs, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1935); for the New Testament, the 2nd edition of the revised Nestle text (Oxford, 1958) and for the Apocrypha, the revised English translation (Oxford, 1908). References to the Psalms show the Septuagint numbering first with the usual western numbering afterwards in square brackets.

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# Preface and Acknowledgements

The Evergetis Project, originally conceived by Margaret Mullett and now under the direction of Dion Smythe and Robert Jordan, was set up at Queen's University, Belfast in 1991. Its aim is to investigate all the material surviving from and associated with the eleventh-century Byzantine Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis in Constantinople. This monastery wielded considerable influence on the founders of many later orthodox monasteries and on the development of Byzantine monastic spirituality. In 1996, the Project was adopted by The British Academy which has continued to support it on a regular basis.<sup>1</sup>

Five teams of researchers were originally formed to examine various aspects of monastic life at the Evergetis: the administration set out in the *Hypotyposis*; the liturgical practice prescribed by the *Synaxarion*; the *Katechetikon* (Homiliary) of the founder, Paul Evergetinos; the *Synagoge* or *Evergetinon* (Spiritual Manual) of Paul and the archaeology of the monastery. Their task has been to edit (where necessary) and translate into English the texts of the Evergetis 'dossier', and to produce commentaries to set these works in their wider historical and spiritual context. Robert Jordan has now published a new edition and translation of the *Synaxarion* (liturgical regulations) of the Evergetis and a series of Evergetis *symposia* have also been held and their Proceedings published. All appear in the series *Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*. Publication with English translations of a selection of those homilies in the *Katechetikon* thought to be composed by Paul himself is currently in preparation by Barbara Crostini Lappin and an English translation of the *Synagoge* is also in progress, based on a new Greek text currently being collated by monks at the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. Since no physical remains of buildings have been located to date, research on the archaeology of the Evergetis has concentrated on the evidence that the texts are able to provide for the structures, fittings and equipment that were present in the monastery complex and articles on these topics have been published in the Evergetis *symposia* volumes.

The present volume is concerned with the first and most basic aspect of monastic life at the Evergetis: its day-to-day spiritual life and administration.

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<sup>1</sup> Other bodies that have supported the Evergetis Project include the Humanities Research Board, the Arts and Humanities Research Board, the Bank of Ireland, the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Hellenic Foundation and the London Hellenic Society.

The text that sets this out is the *Hypotyposis* attributed to Timothy, the second founder, the Greek text of which, edited with a French translation by Paul Gautier in 1982, has been our constant companion over many years.<sup>2</sup> Robert Jordan's English translation of this text first appeared in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, published by Dumbarton Oaks in 2000.<sup>3</sup> With the kind permission of the then Director of Dumbarton Oaks, the late Professor Angeliki Laiou, a copy of that published translation (with only minor changes) has been included here to form the basis for our own notes and commentary and the Introduction in which we discuss the monastery's history, its administration and way of life, and the development of the text itself. We have also included translations of material about the Evergetis monastery from the period after 1204 when, as a result of the capture of Constantinople, it was handed over to the control of the Italian monastery of Monte Cassino, and of a possible mention of the Evergetis in the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> These documents have been gathered together from the various published editions (some rather difficult of access) in which they can presently be found, in the hope that they will help to provide a more complete historical picture of the Evergetis.

We have aimed from the first to make our work accessible to both the undergraduate and the more advanced reader. Thus we have assumed no knowledge of Greek and, indeed, have kept citations in Greek to a minimum. We anticipate that readers might well want to approach the book in different ways. Some, we hope, will find the detail in the Introduction interesting and our new suggestions about the evolution of the text of the *Hypotyposis* thought provoking; others may well want to focus on the translated text of the *Hypotyposis* and the commentary we have composed to it. To this end, we have deliberately allowed a certain degree of repetition; we hope there is enough explanatory detail in the notes to the text to allow it to stand alone without too much need, initially, to refer to the Introduction, where most issues are, of course, dealt with at greater length. Though the volume arises from the Evergetis Project, it is intended to be 'free standing', thus we have thought it important to summarise findings discussed in greater detail in the Evergetis *symposia* volumes which have already been published.

Our work has been collaborative from the first. Robert Jordan (RJ) has been responsible for the sections of the Introduction on liturgical matters, on the Evergetis scriptorium and its book collection and on the discussion of the text of the *Hypotyposis* together with Appendices 2 and 3. All the English translations are

<sup>2</sup> P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Evergétis', *REB*, 40 (1982), 5–101.

<sup>3</sup> *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. Thomas and A.C. Hero, 5 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35, Washington, DC., 2000).

<sup>4</sup> See A. 2 below and Appendix 6.

his work, as is the reconstruction of the *Typikon* of Paul Evergetinos. Rosemary Morris (RM) has been responsible for the sections in the Introduction on the history of the Evergetis, on its place in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine monasticism, on the double hegoumenate and the monastery's system of officers and on its possessions and legal status. She also compiled the Appendices on the identity of the monk *kyr* Anthony and on the patrons Promotenos and Kataphloron. The Commentary to the *Hypotyposis* was jointly composed. It should be emphasised, however, that the entire work has evolved into a truly joint effort; no part of the work has gone forward without being subjected to intensive joint scrutiny and discussion; we stand or fall together!

As we have progressed in our work, we have been greatly supported by the generous help and counsel of a number of scholars. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero were early supporters of the Evergetis Project; John Thomas kindly provided us with enormous amounts of material pertaining to the Evergetis later published in their monumental collection of *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* and has responded to our disagreements about Evergetine 'reform' over the years with generosity and grace. Lyn Rodley, Advisor on Art, Architecture and Archaeology to the Evergetis Project, has permitted us to make use of her Map of the Constantinople of the Evergetis as a basis for our own and has provided us with a copy of her invaluable guide to the Greek terminology used in the Evergetis documents to describe architectural features and liturgical furnishings and objects. We have also been able to make use of John Klentos' chart of monastic time. Important and, as yet, unpublished articles by Barbara Crostini Lappin, Dirk Krausmüller, Nancy Ševčenko, Evaggeli Skaka and Anna Wilson, all long associated with the Evergetis Project, have been incorporated into our work. Jonathan Shepard provided invaluable assistance with the translation of works from Russian; Moreno Mitrović with the Old Church Slavonic of the Chilandar *Typikon*; David Goldfrank with questions of the influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* in the Slav world and Graham Loud with guidance on the records of Monte Cassino. Tassos Papacostas and Michael Jeffreys of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* Project facilitated access to the *PBW* databases in the hunt for members of the Promotenos and Kataphloron families and provided hitherto unpublished 'sightings'. Father Daniel of Vatopedi, Leslie Brubaker, Carolina Cupane, Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Loughridge all speedily responded to our requests for bibliographic and linguistic assistance. Ken Dark, John Haldon and Philipp Niewöhner provided invaluable cartographic guidance.

We must thank a number of institutions which have supported us over the years, not least by making awards which allowed us to spend periods of time working together in one place. RJ would like to acknowledge the support of



the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, by facilitating a period of study with Prof. Robert Taft SJ in 1993 and of the Dr M. Alwyn Cotton Foundation by the award of a Fellowship in 1995; RM that of the University of Manchester by the award of a University of Manchester Research Fellowship (1992–3); Queen's University, Belfast, by the award of a University Visiting Professorship (2004) and the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford by the award of a Visiting Fellowship, in Michaelmas Term, 2010. Our work could not have been completed without the kindness and professionalism of the staff of the University Library, Cambridge; John Rylands University Library, Manchester; Bodleian Library, Oxford; University Library, Queen's University, Belfast and J.B. Morrell Library, University of York (with especial thanks to the Inter-Library Loans Department).

The draft of our book was read in whole or in part by three colleagues. Barbara Crostini Lappin read the Introduction with the eagle eye of the textual scholar; Jonathan Shepard read the entire manuscript and made many pertinent suggestions which have greatly improved the work and Alan Forrest brought the cool gaze of a modern historian to bear on it. We express our profound gratitude to them; all errors that remain, are, of course, our responsibility.

Belfast and York, May, 2011

# Introduction A

## History

### 1. The Evergetis Dossier

No material remains of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis survive, so we have no precise idea where it was situated or of the extent and variety of its buildings. All we know is that it was built ‘about two miles’ outside the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> However, in compensation, a huge dossier survives which opens up a window on the life of the monks both in the regulations for the corporate life within this foundation and in the details of the liturgical routine that was carried out in the monastery’s *katholikon* (main church) and elsewhere. An important document missing from the dossier is the *brebion*,<sup>2</sup> the inventory of the possessions of the monastery, both movable (books, icons, precious cloths, animals, utensils) and immovable (land and the buildings and dependent peasants on it) together with any confirmatory imperial privileges (themselves also lost). This would have provided locations for the property and possibly even the names of any donors of it.<sup>3</sup> But no other medieval Greek monastery has left so much written evidence for the way of life practised within it and this, despite the lack of any tangible remains, gives the Evergetis monastery a position of supreme importance in the study of Byzantine monasticism. A short survey of the items in the Evergetis dossier can provide a flavour of the range of material that has survived.

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<sup>1</sup> L. Rodley, ‘The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople: Where it was and What it Looked Like,’ in M.E. Mullett and A. Kirby (eds), *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-century Monasticism* (BBTT, 6.1, Belfast, 1994), 17–29; L. Rodley, ‘Still in Search of the Theotokos Evergetis: A Site at Yenibosna,’ in M.E. Mullett and A. Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis* (BBTT, 6.2, Belfast, 1997), 222–9; P. Magdalino with additional note by L. Rodley, ‘The Evergetis Fountain in the Early Thirteenth Century: An *ekphrasis* of the Paintings in the Cupola,’ in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 432–47; L. Rodley, ‘The Theotokos Evergetis and Monastic Architecture,’ (unpublished paper). For further discussion, see Introduction A. 2: The Location of the Evergetis Monastery.

<sup>2</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 3, p. 151, 19, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> For a near contemporary example of a *brebion* see *Pakourianos Typ*, pp. 552–6. For a different type of listing of property within a *typonikon* see *Kosmosoteira Typ*, ch. 69, pp. 828f; ch. 92, p. 840; chs 99–101, pp. 842f; ch. 106, p. 844; ch. 109, p. 845.

*The Hypotyposis*

The term *hypotyposis* occurs in two places in the foundation document of the monastery: in the main title at the beginning and at the very end of Chapter Six. The word has a number of meanings of which the most appropriate in this context is 'pattern'. In contrast, the title of the first chapter uses instead the generic word *typikon* ('order'; 'pattern') to describe the document, but we know that the chapter titles as we have them in the document's present form were not included in earlier versions of the text.<sup>4</sup> Although the word *typikon*, or the phrase 'founder's *typikon*', is commonly used to denote a document of this kind, the authors of the various extant *typika* used a wide variety of words to describe them, such as *typos*, *diatheke*, *diataxis* and *hypomnema*.<sup>5</sup> As the word *hypotyposis* is used in the text of Chapter Six to describe the twenty-four hour liturgical routine, it is appropriate enough for that name to have been extended to the whole composition.

This document sets out for the monks the way of life within the Evergetis Monastery as it was visualised and established by the first founder, Paul, and subsequently modified by later *hegoumenoi* (abbots), especially Timothy, Paul's successor.<sup>6</sup> Like all documents of this kind its regulations were something for those in the community to aspire to and attempt to maintain, hence it was to be read to the assembled monks at the beginning of each month in the *trapeza* (refectory).<sup>7</sup> It covers virtually every area of monastic life: the basic liturgical routine and the celebration of feasts, fasts and commemorations, spiritual guidance, monastic behaviour, the appointment of monastic officers and the qualities demanded of them, the administration of the monastery and its estates, charity and its distribution, treatment of the sick and rules about contact with outsiders, especially women. Every aspect of community life was regulated and the monks had little or no time at their own disposal. Although a broad outline of the liturgical routine appears in the *Hypotyposis*, the precise detail of

<sup>4</sup> For the text and French translation, see P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Evergétis', *REB*, 40 (1982), 5–101. For English translation, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. Thomas and A.C. Hero, 5 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35, Washington, D.C., 2000), vol. 2, no. 22, pp. 454–506. The Greek texts of the monastery's *Hypotyposis* and *Synaxarion* are only found in one manuscript: Cod. Athen. graec. 788. On the chapter titles in the *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, C. 15.

<sup>5</sup> On *typika* and their names see C. Galatariotou, 'Byzantine *ktetorika typika*: A Comparative Study', *REB*, 45 (1987), 77–138; A. Thiermeyer, 'Das Typikon-Ktetorikon und sein literarhistorischer Kontext', *OCP*, 58 (1992), 475–513.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of authorship within the *Hypotyposis* see Introduction, C. 14–17.

<sup>7</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 43, p. 210.

the worship and further spiritual guidance appears in two other parts of the dossier. The *Hypotyposis* itself, however, proved a popular model for later drafters of Byzantine *typika*.<sup>8</sup>

### *The Synaxarion*

The *Synaxarion* of Evergetis is the most detailed Greek liturgical *typikon* to have survived from the medieval period, providing a rich insight into the liturgical elements and practice of that period.<sup>9</sup> A major part of the day and night for the monks was spent at worship, mainly in the *katholikon* but also in their own cells and on some occasions down at the tombs. This liturgical routine, set out in general terms in the *Hypotyposis*, determined the structure of the day and night. The monks were woken before dawn to prepare themselves for the morning service of *Orthros*; later on, after the celebration of the Divine Liturgy came the first meal of the day in the *trapeza*; finally the minor office of *Apodeipnon* brought the day to an end. Since each and every day was either a feast day or the commemoration of one or more saints, the worship in all the major services (*Orthros*, the Divine Liturgy and Vespers) and the minor offices (*Apodeipnon*, the Hours and *Pannychis*) was made up of a combination of special elements relevant to the individual day (the ‘proprs’) and the regular elements that always made up these services and offices (the ‘ordinary’). The combining of the ordinary and the proprs was managed by reference to the *Synaxarion* where the proprs for each day are listed service by service in two cycles: one covering the so-called fixed days of the year starting from 1 September through until 31 August and the other setting out the proprs for the great fast of Lent and the ensuing Easter period until the Feast of All Saints. Since the ordinary seldom, if ever, varied, the regular elements that made it up are not referred to unless a special variation was due to be made. For the rank and file monk, the intricacies involved in managing the day by day worship were of little concern. The *eklesiarches* and the *kanonarchos*, who led and directed the chanting, were responsible for consulting the *Synaxarion* and setting out the necessary proprs of the day for the chanters and possibly also the reader. The most difficult portion of the year came when the two cycles of worship overlapped and the proprs

<sup>8</sup> On the later influence of the *Hypotyposis* see Introduction, C. 18.

<sup>9</sup> *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, ed. and tr. R.H. Jordan, 3 vols (BBTT, 6.5; 6.6 and 6.7, Belfast, 2000–2007). For references to other liturgical *typika*, see *BMFD*, vol. 5, p. 2004. On a liturgical *typikon* closely modelled on the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis see M. Kouroupou and J.-F. Vannier, ‘Commémorations des Commènes dans le *typikon* liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (*MS. Panaghia Kamariotissa* 29)’, *REB*, 63 (2005), 41–69, esp. p. 41.

from both cycles had to be accommodated within the worship. The great Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) was a particular nightmare since it always falls in Lent, resulting in a clash between the rigorous privations of the fast and the joyous celebration of this major feast.

The *Hypotyposis* acknowledges the overriding authority of the *Synaxarion* in matters concerning the liturgical routine: it could, for example, set aside the reading of the *katechesis* (homily).<sup>10</sup> It also gives detailed instructions on how the services of Vespers and *Orthros* were to be carried out;<sup>11</sup> it sets out the precise procedure for fasts and vigils<sup>12</sup> and it specifies how the commemorations of Paul and Timothy ought to be chanted.<sup>13</sup> The Evergetis *Synaxarion* also had an important influence on later monastic liturgical regulations:<sup>14</sup>

A) A microfilm containing the manuscript Cod. Panagia Kamariotissa 29 (now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul) was discovered a few years ago at Dumbarton Oaks by Alexei Pentkovskii. Further study of this manuscript will be very significant as it contains the liturgical *Typikon* of the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos which bears a strong resemblance to the Evergetis *Synaxarion*. Two portions of this text have now been published.<sup>15</sup>

B) The introductory paragraph of Chapter 47 of the *Typikon* of the Monastery of St Mamas specifies that the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis was to be followed: 'Now it is necessary to speak briefly also concerning the ecclesiastical order that ought to be observed ... in accordance with the *Synaxarion* of the Monastery of

<sup>10</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 153.

<sup>11</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, pp. 157 and 159.

<sup>12</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 8, pp. 163–4.

<sup>13</sup> *Hypotyposis*, appendix after ch. 43, p. 211.

<sup>14</sup> See M.E. Mullett (ed.), *The Synaxarion of the Theotokos Evergetis: Introduction and Commentary* (forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> For the manuscript, see P. Géhin and M. Kouroupou, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki*, vol. 1: *Notices descriptives*. Vol. 2: *Illustrations* (Turnhout, 2008), vol. 1, no. 29, pp. 122–4. The parchment ms. has been dated to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. This liturgical *Typikon* contains the Fixed Feasts (ff. 1–115) followed by the Movable Feasts (ff. 116–173v). The text from September 1–14 has been published by Pentkovskii, see Introduction, A. 3: The Evergetis and Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries p. 30, n. 146. A further portion of this text, kindly provided by Prof. Pentkovskii, consisting of 5 *folia* from the movable cycle (with English translation) appears in *EvSynax*, vol. 2, pp. 731–51. This is to cover a portion missing from the Evergetis *Synaxarion*, see Introduction C. 12: Codex Atheniensis graecus 788 and n. 36.

Evergetis, which is in effect at the present time, without failure and omission.<sup>16</sup> The remainder of the chapter is made up almost entirely of passages from Chapters Three, Four and Six of the *Hypotyposis*. Since its regulations are highly dependent on those of St Mamas, it might have been expected that the Monastery of Elegmoi would copy it in following the Evergetis *Synaxarion*, but Chapter 46 of its *Typikon* explicitly substitutes the Stoudite *Synaxarion*.<sup>17</sup>

C) Study of a late thirteenth-century Slavonic liturgical *menaion* for December (Ms. Chilandar 608) has provided proof that this monastery not only took over the rule of Evergetis enshrined in Timothy's *Hypotyposis* but also, in this case at least, followed the liturgical routine for December as laid down in its *Synaxarion*.<sup>18</sup>

D) Since Isaac Komnenos lavished such praise on the way of life in Evergetis and instructed his monks to 'hold to it with reference to the hymnody'<sup>19</sup> it is possible that the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis was also used in Kosmosoteira.

### *The Katechetikon*

According to the *Hypotyposis*, spiritual guidance and teaching were given by the *proestos* (another word for abbot),<sup>20</sup> partly at daily confession<sup>21</sup> and partly through the daily *katechesis* during the First Hour.<sup>22</sup> However, it is clear that at some point after Paul's death a later *begoumenos* restricted the reading of a daily *katechesis* to the period of Lent. The evidence for this change comes from the *Synaxarion* where no *katechesis* is mentioned in the fixed cycle; it only appears among the prescriptions for Lent and those for the *Agrypnia* of Sundays.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> *MamasTyp*, ch. 47, pp. 1025–8 and see Introduction, C. 18: The Influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>17</sup> *ElegmoiTyp*, ch. 46, p. 1082 and see Introduction, C. 18.

<sup>18</sup> See Introduction, C. 18 and for Evergetine liturgical influences at Chilandar, T. Subotin-Golubović, 'Prilog poznavanju bogoslužjenja u srpskoj crkvi krajem XIII veka', *Hilandarski Zbornik*, 10 (1998), pp. 153–77, English summary, p. 177.

<sup>19</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 8, p. 802.

<sup>20</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 4, p. 153; 40, p. 207.

<sup>21</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 7, p. 160.

<sup>22</sup> The original pattern as set out in the *Hypotyposis* was to have a daily *katechesis* near the end of the First Hour which always took place at Evergetis in the *katholikon* immediately after the service of *Orthros*.

<sup>23</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.11, p. 353; T.19, p. 389; APP. 1, p. 709. The final reference indicates that Sunday was the only day when a *katechesis* was delivered at the First Hour during the periods of the year that were free of fasting. This was a modification of the practice in the Constantinopolitan house of Stoudios: cf. B. Crostini Lappin, 'Originality and

*Hypotyposis* preserves the original pattern which is emphasised by the wording.<sup>24</sup>

Paul's *Katecheseis*, some 368 in number, have survived; most are found in two twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscripts supplemented with additions from four other manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> Thanks to the work of Fr Julien Leroy<sup>26</sup> and Barbara Crostini Lappin, a yearly sequence has been established and the sources of almost all of them have been identified and tabulated.<sup>27</sup> They are all of a similar length, suggesting that each would have been read in a little under ten minutes. No doubt their comparative shortness was a relief to the monks who had already carried out the long service of *Orthros* and then most of the First Hour. Since they were composed in the first five years of the monastery's existence, they ought to provide some valuable insights into Paul's vision of the monastic life to supplement his *Synagoge*; they are also a potential source of incidental information about any problems that Paul encountered in the years before Timothy took over as *hegoumenos*.

But how much influence did the *Katecheseis* have outside the walls of the Evergetis? Two clear cases are documented. The first comes from a note in Cod. Athos Esphigmenos 45 (twelfth or early thirteenth century) which dates the introduction of reading the *Katecheseis* in the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople to 1106/07.<sup>28</sup> This is a significant plank in the argument that the *typikon* of this monastery may well have provided the link between the *Hypotyposis* and the *Typikon* of St Mamas.<sup>29</sup> The second case is found in another

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Dependence in the *Katechetikon* of Paul of Evergetis: Some Examples of Catecheses Adapted from Theodore of Stoudios', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 178–200.

<sup>24</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 153 with its strong wording forbidding the omission of a *katechesis*; ch. 40, pp. 207–8 with the word 'constant' in the context of the reading of the divine scriptures and the *katecheseis*.

<sup>25</sup> See J. Leroy, 'Un nouveau témoin de la Grande Catéchèse de S. Théodore Studite', *REB*, 15 (1957), 73–88 with a list of the manuscripts at p. 76.

<sup>26</sup> This work was published posthumously as *Etudes sur les Grandes Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite*, ed. O. Delouis (= *Studi e Testi*, 456, Vatican City, 2008), esp. pp. 215–55.

<sup>27</sup> On Paul's *katecheseis* see B. Crostini Lappin, 'The *Katechetikon* of Paul, Founder of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, in Relation to the Foundational Documents', *OCP*, 64 (1998), 123–35; B. Crostini Lappin, 'Liturgical Form and Content in an Eleventh-century Byzantine Homiliary: The Evergetis *Katechetikon*', (Acts of the International Congress of Comparative Liturgy: Fifty years after Anton Baumstark [1872–1968]), ed. R.F. Taft SJ and G. Winkler (OCA, 265, Rome, 2001), 705–37; 'Le fonti dell'omeliario liturgico di Paolo Everghetino (†1054): sintesi di spiritualità per un monachesimo rinnovato', in *Siculorum Gymnasium* n.s. a. 57 (2004) (= *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*), 179–99.

<sup>28</sup> See Crostini Lappin, 'Katechetikon of Paul', p. 126.

<sup>29</sup> See Introduction, C. 14, n. 126.



manuscript, Bodleian Library Cromwell 22, which preserves Paul's *Katecheseis*, but in a slightly altered form and for a different audience. In this collection the *Katecheseis* have been modified to suit a female audience, probably the nuns in the Monastery of Trichinarea on the southern side of Mt St Auxentios. A scribal note dates this manuscript to 1315.<sup>30</sup>

### *The Synagoge*

It is difficult to be sure how this huge spiritual manual in four books was used in the Evergetis monastery.<sup>31</sup> It is certainly Paul's work and, judging by its size, he must have had most, if not all, of the passages collected before he founded his house. Since it was the product of a massive amount of time and effort on Paul's part, we must conclude that the extracts making up the topics reflected his own view of the monastic life. It is noticeable that he was particularly fond of the teaching of the Desert Fathers, since extracts from the *Gerontikon* account for 217 out of a total of 948; the next most cited author is Ephrem the Syrian with 111 extracts.<sup>32</sup>

Scholars disagree about its purpose: it may have been to assist the *hegoumenoi* in giving advice to members of the community,<sup>33</sup> or else it was a standard work to which members of the community could refer.<sup>34</sup> A further possibility is that any member of the community who disclosed a spiritual problem during confession could have been referred to the relevant topic in the *Synagoge* and been required to study the extracts for the spiritual benefit and correction they could give. One thing is certain, however: there is no reference to it in either the *Hypotyposis* or the *Synaxarion*. Although we are uncertain how exactly it was used in the Evergetis, if at all, it quickly proved popular. It appears among the books left to

<sup>30</sup> See B. Crostini Lappin, 'A Fourteenth-Century Homiliary for Nuns: Structure, Contents and Context of MS. Cromwell 22', *BZ*, 95 (2002), 35–68.

<sup>31</sup> *Εὐεργετινὸς ἤτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλιῶν τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων*, ed. Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites (Venice, 1783; 6th edition in 4 vols, repr. Athens, 1996–7); English translation, Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios *et al.* (Etna, CA, 1988–). See also G. Collins, 'A Neglected Manual of the Spiritual Life: The *Synagoge* of Paul Evergetinos', *Sobornost*, 12. 1 (1990), 47–51.

<sup>32</sup> The sources for individual extracts are listed in the volumes containing a new text being collated and published by the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos and will accompany each extract in the new English translation being produced by members of the Evergetis Project.

<sup>33</sup> See J. Rutherford, 'Diadochos and the Structure of the *Synagoge*', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 152–65, esp. p. 154.

<sup>34</sup> J. Wortley, 'The Model and Form of the *Synagoge*', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 166–77, esp. p. 169.



the Monastery of St John on Patmos in the twelfth-century Will of Sabbas, its fourth *hegoumenos*.<sup>35</sup>

This manual of instruction in the spiritual life for monks has had a widespread and lasting influence on the monasteries and monks of later centuries in both East and West. Evidence of its popularity can be gauged by the large number of extant manuscripts, at least 68, containing all or parts of this huge work.<sup>36</sup> Since the first printed edition produced in Venice in 1783, it has been regularly reprinted, more recently with a Modern Greek translation. The current sixth edition in four volumes was reprinted in Athens in 1996–7 and is widely available.<sup>37</sup> The importance of this work was evidently quickly recognised since some of the surviving manuscripts are dated to the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup> In the library lists of the Monastery of Patmos we find, among the books left to the library of the monastery in the Will of the *hegoumenos* Sabbas (dated c. 1118),<sup>39</sup> one copy of ‘*Paterikon* of the Evergetis’. The popularity of this work has not been lost on modern monastic communities (or even to some living in the secular world) for it continues to be read in the monasteries of the West, such as the Benedictine house of Chevetogne in Belgium, as well as in monastic communities in the East, notably on Mount Athos.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> C. Astruc, ‘L’inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la Bibliothèque de Patmos. Edition diplomatique’, *TM*, 8 (1981), 15–30.

<sup>36</sup> See M.E. Mullett, ‘Introduction: The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis’, in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 1–16, esp. pp. 8–9; J. Wortley, ‘The Genre and Sources of the *Synagoge*’, in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 306–24, esp. p. 306.

<sup>37</sup> See n. 31, above.

<sup>38</sup> Cod. Istanbul Panagia Kamariotissa, 92 (Book II); Cod. Paris. Coislin. 298 (Book IV); on these two manuscripts see Introduction, B. 10: Manuscript and Book Production: An Evergetis Scriptorium n. 235; Cod. Vatic. Ottobon. graec. 451 (Books III–IV); Cod. Athos Vatopediou 201 (Book I.20.6.4–40.4); Cod. Marc. App. II 68 (Book I. 1–44).

<sup>39</sup> The dating of this will has proved controversial, see MM, VI, pp. 241–6 where it is dated to the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century; E. Vranoussi, ‘Σάββας, καθηγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου’, *Ελληνικά*, 19 (1966), pp. 216–25 where a date of after 1119 but before 1127/8 is suggested; A. Komines, *Πατμιακή βιβλιοθήκη, ἡτοι νέος κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου, τόμος Α* (Athens, 1988), p. 19 puts forward a date before 1118. For further discussion of monastic book commissioning, production and circulation during the eleventh and twelfth centuries see J.S. Waring, *Byzantine Monastic Libraries in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Queen’s University, Belfast, 1998).

<sup>40</sup> On the Holy Mountain the *Synagoge* is considered an extremely important guide to the monastic life. The *hegoumenos* at the Monastery of Vatopedi insists that one of the first books every novice who comes to the monastery must read is the *Synagoge* and the same thing happens in most of the other monasteries on the Holy Mountain. It is also the preferred

## 2. History of the Evergetis Monastery

The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis was founded between 1049 and 1054 by the monk Paul on lands belonging to his family.<sup>41</sup> Nothing is known of Paul's origins, or his secular name, though he came from a family rich enough to own property, and the land upon which he founded the Evergetis was not the only estate that had come to him through inheritance.<sup>42</sup> The *Hypotyposis* implies that he abandoned the world to found the Evergetis but the foundation was a new one and he thus cannot have been tonsured there.<sup>43</sup> He must, therefore, have already been a monk, maybe for some time, as he only lived for five years after founding his monastery; this could well have been at the famous Constantinopolitan Monastery of Stoudios.<sup>44</sup> Paul established a small house with a few cells and also composed an administrative *typikon* for it, traces of which, we believe, may be discerned in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>45</sup> He died on 16 April, 1054.<sup>46</sup> His successor was his disciple Timothy, who revised the *Hypotyposis*, embarked on a building programme and acquired holy vessels and books for the monastery. He may still have been *hegoumenos* in 1067.<sup>47</sup> After this date, only one *hegoumenos* of the

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reading in the refectory at all the monasteries there. We are most grateful to Fr Daniel of Vatopedi for this information.

<sup>41</sup> We have here summarised material previously published in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis* and Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, though with some corrections and additions.

<sup>42</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 2, pp. 148–9.

<sup>43</sup> *Typika* and other monastic documents did not often provide information about founders' previous monastic lives, though this material is commonly found in hagiography, see Introduction A. 3 and C. 11: The Making of Paul's *Typikon*.

<sup>44</sup> Paul could not have found the large numbers of books needed for the *Synagoge* in a small and newly-founded monastery such as the Evergetis, though he might have owned some of them in his own private library. See Introduction, B. 9: Reading and Books at the Evergetis, pp. 70–71.

<sup>45</sup> See Introduction, C. 17: A Pauline *Hypotyposis*? and Appendix 1: 'The *Typikon* of Paul Evergetinos: A Reconstruction'.

<sup>46</sup> Not on the 26 April as erroneously noted by M. Mullett, 'Introduction', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, p. 2 or 11 April according to Janin, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique* (2 vols); II: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), hereafter Janin, *Grands Centres*; III: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]* (2nd ed. Paris, 1969), hereafter *Eglises et monastères*, see p. 179. See also Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 16, n. 7.

<sup>47</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, pp. 150–51. Timothy is mentioned in four manuscript notices of April 1064, July and December 1065 and February 1067, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 9 and B. Crostini, 'Towards a Study of the Scriptorium of the Monastery of the

Evergetis is known: Athanasios, mentioned in a manuscript note dateable to 1103.<sup>48</sup> It is perhaps surprising that no representative of the Evergetis seems to have attended the Constantinopolitan Synod of Blachernai (1094).<sup>49</sup> What may be the seal of the monastery has survived in at least three examples which have been dated to the twelfth century. There is also an undated seal which could refer to a stylite at the Evergetis, perhaps a reference to the recluse *hegoumenos*.<sup>50</sup>

Earlier commentators on the foundation of the Evergetis monastery have been perplexed by the figure of the *protoasekretis* Basil, apparently the 'founder' (*ktetor*) of, or generous donor to, an Evergetis Monastery, who seems to have been the author of poems dedicated to Symeon the New Theologian (?949–1022), preserved in manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>51</sup> The editors of the poems to Symeon have disagreed over the number that can be attributed to this Basil.<sup>52</sup> But in any case, as Gautier was clearly aware, only one of them can clearly be attributed to someone who is described as 'Basil *protoasekretis* and founder of the Evergetis Monastery'.<sup>53</sup> This particular poem (no. 6b in Koder and no. 4 in Kambylis) has only survived in two manuscripts: Cod. Patmiacus graec. 427 (early fourteenth century) and Codex Vatic. graec.

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Theotokos Evergetis: Preliminary Remarks', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 176–97, pp. 180–81.

<sup>48</sup> For this ms., Londin. Add. 36654, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 9 and Crostini, 'Scriptorium of Evergetis', p. 178.

<sup>49</sup> See P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094)', *REB*, 29 (1971), 213–84. The *sebastos* and *megadoux* John Doukas was, however, present and if he can be identified with the monk *kyr* Anthony of the *Hypotyposis* addition, then this gives a useful *terminus post quem* for its composition, see Introduction, C. 13: The Final Additions. In addition, the recluse *hegoumenos*, Symeon of Philotheou was also present (see Introduction, B. 4: The Double Hegoumenate). There was clearly nothing to prevent such monastic recluses from leaving their seclusion on important ecclesiastical occasions.

<sup>50</sup> V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin V.2. L'église* (Paris, 1965), nos 1152 (monastery) and 1302 (stylite); G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals II*, compiled and edited by J.W. Nesbitt (Bern, 1984), nos 605 and 606 (monastery). It is, of course, always possible that these seals refer to an Evergetis monastery elsewhere in Constantinople or the Empire.

<sup>51</sup> Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymns*, in *Symeon Neos Theologos, Hymnen*, ed. A. Kambylis (Supplementa Byzantina, 3, Berlin, 1976) and *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Hymnes*, ed. J. Koder, C. Neyrand and J. Paramelle, 3 vols (SC, 156: 174; 196, Paris, 1969–73, repr. of vol. 3, Paris, 2003). We are immensely grateful to Barbara Crostini Lappin for providing us with access to her unpublished paper, 'Basil *protoasekretis* "and Founder of the Monastery of the Evergetis"', upon which this paragraph is based.

<sup>52</sup> Koder assigning three to him (see p. 65) and Kambylis (p. CCCLIX), four.

<sup>53</sup> See Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 10, n. 20; *Hymnes*, ed. Koder, p. 65 and *Hymnen*, ed. Kambylis, pp. 27–30.

1782 (1584) which was copied directly from it.<sup>54</sup> Since the poor preservation of the Patmos ms. now makes it impossible to check the precision of the copying, we are reliant on the witness of the scribe of the Vatican manuscript, Niketas (or Nektarios) Mendrinos Pankallos for the attribution of the title of *protoasekretis* together with the epithet of *ktetor* to Basil.<sup>55</sup> In addition, questions can be raised about the eleventh-century origins of these poems, since only one of them actually contains the name ‘Symeon’ and it is only in the title of a dedicatory poem linked to one of the ‘Basil’ poems, but actually by one Niketas Diakonos, that ‘Symeon’ is again mentioned.<sup>56</sup> The late manuscript tradition of these ‘Symeon’ poems has also led scholars to counsel caution in attributing them to the eleventh century, though, as Janin commented, they could indeed be copies of earlier manuscripts.<sup>57</sup> Barbara Crostini Lappin suggests that the title of ‘founder of the Evergetis’ may have been attributed to the author of the poem with which we are concerned ‘regardless of historical circumstances, in order to validate the poem’s eleventh-century origins.’<sup>58</sup>

The possible identity of the *protoasekretis* Basil thus remains obscure and his importance for the history of our Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis – if any – unclear. Janin was unimpressed by any of the suggestions made by Pargoire: that Basil was Paul Evergetinos’ name in the world; that he restored the monastery after the death of Timothy; that he was merely a patron or that he was the founder of the *metochion* of the Evergetis situated in Constantinople. He was inclined to follow Pargoire’s final suggestion: that an entirely different Evergetis

<sup>54</sup> See I. Sakkellion, *Πατμιακή βιβλιοθήκη*, (Athens, 1890), pp. 188–9 and P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci 1745–1962* (Vatican City, 1970), pp. 123–7. According to Kambylis, (*Hymnen*, p. CCCLIX) the first edition of Symeon’s poetic work by Dionysios Zagoraios in the eighteenth century also printed the one poem clearly attributed to ‘Basil *protoasekretis* and founder’ on p. 28, immediately before the text of Symeon’s *Katecheseis*. Since Zagoraios, according to Kambylis, worked directly from the Patmos manuscript, this would confirm the presence of the poem there. However, although we have not been able to consult the first edition of Zagoraios, the reprint, D. Zagoraios, *Τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεῶν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου τὰ εὗρισκόμενα διηρημένα εἰς δύο* (repr. of 1789 ed., Athens, n.d. [1958?]) does not have this particular poem on p. 28.

<sup>55</sup> For the poor state of the Patmos ms., see G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d’Italia e di Patmo* (= Studi e testi, 68, Vatican City, 1935, repr. 1973), p. 143. For the copying and scribe of Vatic. graec. 1782, see Kambylis, *Hymnen*, p. LXXXVI and nn. 130–31; Canart, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, p. 127 and J. Koder, ‘Die Hymnen Symeons, des neuen Theologen’, *JÖB*, 15 (1966), 153–99, see p. 159.

<sup>56</sup> See Symeon the New Theologian, *Traitéés théologiques et éthiques*, ed. and trans. J. Darrouzès (SC, 122, Paris, 1966), pp. 88–91 for a discussion of the identity of Niketas.

<sup>57</sup> Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, pp. 183–4.

<sup>58</sup> Crostini Lappin, ‘Basil *protoasekretis*’.

Monastery – founded at some point before 1350 – was at issue here.<sup>59</sup> Gautier tentatively identified ‘Basil’ as the *protospatharios*, *protoasekretis* and Judge of the Hippodrome Basil Kekaumenos, the author of a poem written on the occasion of the death of the *vestarches* Anastasios Lizix c. 1070, but gave no reasons for so doing.<sup>60</sup> He suggested that he might have been a lay ‘protector’ and benefactor of the monastery after the death of Timothy and thus have earned the honorific title of *ktetor*, as did the Serbian princes Stephen/Symeon and Rastko/Sava in the twelfth century. But, as John Thomas has pointed out, there is no trace of any such appointment in the surviving version of the *Hypotyposis*, which mentions by name other early patrons of the monastery.<sup>61</sup>

Although the Evergetis *typika* (both the *Hypotyposis* and the *Synaxarion*) were clearly known and made use of in the twelfth century and copies of Paul’s *Katecheseis* and the *Synagoge* were already circulating then, information about the later history of monastery itself is extremely sparse.<sup>62</sup> If the sole surviving manuscript of the *Hypotyposis* (Cod. Athen. graec. 788) can, indeed, be dated to the mid-twelfth century, then by that time the monastery had gained landed property and the peasants to work it, important patrons (members of the Promotenos and Kataphloron families and almost certainly the *sebastos* John Doukas amongst others) and imperial confirmatory chrysobulls.<sup>63</sup> In 1153–54, the monk Neophytos, apparently from the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis and possibly a recluse, was seemingly elected Patriarch of Constantinople, but was ousted after a month due to complaints made about an episode in his past, during which he had apparently abandoned his orders as a *lector* to return to the world before repenting and then becoming a monk. Though Neophytos appears in most modern lists of the patriarchs of Constantinople, some doubt has been cast on his very existence.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, pp. 183–4.

<sup>60</sup> See Gautier, ‘Theotokos Evergetis’, pp. 9–10 and n. 20.

<sup>61</sup> See *EvTyp*, p. 455. For Symeon and Sava as *ktetores* of the Evergetis, see *Actes de Chilandar*, vol. 1: *Des origines à 1319*, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari and C. Giros (Archives de l’Athos, 20, Paris, 1998), p. 27, n. 212.

<sup>62</sup> See Introduction, A. 3 and B. 10.

<sup>63</sup> See Introduction, B. 6 (possessions); Appendix 5: The Patrons Promotenos and Kataphloron; Appendix 4: The Identity of the Monk *kyr* Anthony.

<sup>64</sup> J. Pargoire, ‘Constantinople: le couvent de l’Evergétis’, *EO*, 9 (1906), 371–2; 10 (1907), 155–67, 249–63, pp. 161–2, summarised in *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 22, p. 456. See also, M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες* (2nd ed., Athens, 1996), p. 256. V. Grumel, ‘La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de 1111 à 1206’, *REB*, 1 (1943), 250–70, pp. 255–6, establishes Neophytos I as having a patriarchate of less than one month between Oct. 1153 and the end of Nov. 1154. Neophytos I was not, however, mentioned in the list of Patriarchs of Constantinople drawn up by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (pre-1256–c. 1335), see

Three further pieces of information testify to the continued existence and influence of the Evergetis at the end of the twelfth century. The canonist Theodore Balsamon reports that the monks of the Evergetis brought a request to the Patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes (1178–83) for a ruling on how they could make confession to their *hegoumenos* (as the *Hypotyposis* had ruled they should), since, at the time, he was not a priest. The Patriarch ruled that the *hegoumenos* must be ordained if he wished to hear *exagoreuseis*.<sup>65</sup> The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* (partly mediated by the version found in the *Typikon of St Mamas*) also provided the model for that composed by the Greek monk Neilos in c. 1172 for the Monastery of Machairas on Cyprus. It also provided the basis for the Slavonic *Typikon* for the foundation by St Sava of the Serbian Monastery of

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ODB, III, p. 2207 and H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 705–9, but *does* appear in a list cited by Ducange in the seventeenth century and in three lists cited by Banduri in the eighteenth century, see C. du Fresne Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* (Paris, 1682), IV, p. 59, no. 18 and A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1711), Book VIII: *Catalogi varii tum inediti Patriarchum Constantinopoleos*, p. 595: Νεόφυτος ἑγκλειστος, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος, ἔτη... (number of years missing). This entry was derived from a list published by Leunclavius, from a manuscript identified by V. Laurent as Cod. Paris. graec. 1355, see Grumel, ‘Chronologie des patriarches’, p. 250. This paper manuscript of 433 folios dates from the fifteenth century and has a list of the patriarchs of Constantinople at f. 337v, see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1888), vol. 2, pp. 21–2. Two further entries in Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, on p. 213, both with ‘Neophytos *enkleistos*’ (from list of the seventeenth-century scholar Matthew Cigalas) and ‘Neophytos *enkleistos* from the Evergetis’ (from list of *protonotarios* Philip of Cyprus of patriarchs up to the seventeenth century) are simply from works described by E.W. Brooks, as ‘bad copies’ of Leunclavius’ list, see E.W. Brooks, ‘On the Lists of Patriarchs of Constantinople from 638–715’, *BZ*, 6 (1897), 33–54, p. 35. Banduri himself (II, p. 638) was doubtful about Neophytos’ patriarchate with good reason, and since Leunclavius’ list was probably written at the end of the thirteenth century (c. 1258–1270) and Xanthopoulos’ probably dates to c. 1303, see Brooks, ‘Lists of Patriarchs’, p. 39, we still lack contemporary evidence for Neophytos’ patriarchate. However, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I: Actes des patriarches*, fasc. II–III. *Les registres de 715–1206*, ed. V. Grumel, 2nd ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1989), under Neophytos I, notes that one act (concerning impediments to marriage) is attributed to him. This act is, however, contained in Cod. Paris. graec. 1323, ff. 387v–389v attributed by Omont to Patriarch Neophytos II (1602–03; 1607–12) in 1611, see *Inventaire sommaire*, vol. 2, p. 6. If Neophytos I did, in fact, exist and was indeed a recluse (*enkleistos*), it would suggest that the arrangements obtaining in the early years of the Evergetis might later also, on occasion, have been applied, see Pargoire, ‘Evergétis’, p. 162 and Introduction, B. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Pargoire, ‘Evergétis’, p. 162; *EvTyp*, p. 456; RP, vol. 3, pp. 311–2. See Appendix 6: Later Documents, Greek A.



Chilandar on Mount Athos, itself the later model for that of the Monastery of Studenica in Serbia.<sup>66</sup>

It has long been known that the texts of Codex Athen. graec. 788 and the earliest surviving manuscript of the Chilandar *typikon*, a copy (Ms. Chilandar AS 156) apparently made directly from the original in the early thirteenth century, closely resembled one another; one can go further and suggest that the drafter of the original Chilandar *Typikon* was actually working from this very manuscript or a close copy.<sup>67</sup> St Sava (Prince Rastko of Serbia) made frequent visits to the Evergetis during the period 1196–1235; it is most likely that the *Hypotyposis* was translated – either by Sava himself or by a Serbian monk with a good knowledge of Greek – in the summer of 1199, since the Chilandar version mentions a privilege granted by the Emperor Alexios III Angelos in June of that year.<sup>68</sup> As we have seen, both Sava and his father Symeon (Stephen Nemanja) are referred to in Serbian sources as *ktetores* of the Evergetis Monastery; they apparently made donations of both money and property.<sup>69</sup>

Sava clearly visited and patronised the Evergetis during the period of Latin rule in Constantinople after 1204. If the monastery can be identified with ‘Santa Maria de Virgiot(ε)is’ or ‘Santa Maria de Virgion’, as Pargoire and other commentators believed, then it was granted in March 1206 by the papal legate to the Latin Empire, Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna, to the Italian monastery of Monte Cassino.<sup>70</sup> This donation was twice confirmed by Pope Honorius III (20 May 1217 and 31 October 1222) and was conditional on the

<sup>66</sup> See Introduction, A. 3 and C. 18.

<sup>67</sup> See n. 149, below and Introduction, C. 18.

<sup>68</sup> *Chilandar*, I, no. 5 (June 1199). This privilege is mentioned in ch. 13 of the Chilandar *Typikon*, see *Chilandar*, I, Introduction, p. 26. See also D. Bogdanović (ed.), *Hilandarski Tipik (Rukopis Chil AS 156)* (Belgrade, 1995).

<sup>69</sup> *BMFD*, vol. 2, no. 22, pp. 456–7. See ‘Les Nemanja: Vie de S. Syméon et de St Sabba’ (by the monk Domentijan), in A. Chodzko, *Légendes slaves du moyen âge, 1169–1237* (Paris, 1858), pp. 36–7, where Sava is reported to have visited ‘son monastère nommé Everguétissa’ and there distributed most of the money given to him by the emperor; p. 39, where, it is related that after a ‘modest woman’ (clearly the Virgin herself) has approached Sava in Constantinople and told him that he will find ‘two treasures’ near his monastery on Mt Athos, he gives some of the buried treasure found after the death of Symeon/Stephen ‘au monastère de la très-sainte Vièrge l’Everguétissa à Tzarigrad’; p. 71 notes that Sava, when in Constantinople, ‘rendit aussitôt à son monastère d’Everguétissa’.

<sup>70</sup> See Pargoire, ‘Evergétis’, p. 165. The text was published by E. Gattula, *Historia abbatae Cassinensis per saeculorum seriem distributa*, 2 vols (Venice, 1733), vol. 2, p. 491, see T. Leccisotti and F. Avagliano (eds), *Abbazia di Montecassino. I registri dell’archivio, 1–* (Rome, 1964–), vol. 1, no. 26 and our Appendix 6: Later Documents, Latin, A.

fact that the Greek monks there should not be expelled.<sup>71</sup> There was clearly still a Greek *begoumenos* there in 1222, as two further papal letters in November of that year to the 'abbot and community of S. Maria de Virgiotis' and to their 'vassals' ordered them to obey any monastic officials sent to oversee them from Monte Cassino.<sup>72</sup> As Pargoire pointed out, these letters seem to indicate a lack of co-operation on the part of the Greek Evergetis monks with their nominal superiors, an attitude which may have been encouraged by Sava of Serbia, who certainly visited the monastery as late as 1235 and who clearly had a close relationship with, if not control over, the house.<sup>73</sup> They also confirm that the monastery had both lands and 'vassals' (dependent landholders) in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Indeed, the monastery seems to have been of some importance, since, in 1207/8, the scholar and churchman Nicholas Mesarites wrote a letter addressed to the *begoumenos* and monks of the Evergetis, in which he reported on the installation in Nicaea of the new Patriarch, Michael IV Autoreianos (1206–12).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Pargoire, 'Evergétis', pp. 164–6; *EuTyp*, p. 456. See Leccisotti and Avagliano, *Regesti*, vol. 1, nos 37 and 25; P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii papae III*, 2 vols, (repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1978), I, no. 587 (20 May 1217, describing the monastery as *extra civitatem Constantinopolitanam infra duo miliaria*), see also Gattula, *Historia*, II, p. 492 and Pressutti, *Regesta* no. 4140 (31 October 1222), see *Epistolae Honorii III* ed. F. Liverani, *Spicilegium liberianum digessit et recensuit F. Liverani* (Florence, 1863), vol. 1, no. 21, p. 725, see also our Appendix 6: Later Documents, Latin, C and D. An earlier papal letter of 5 May 1217, confirming the grant of a 'Church' of S. Maria de Virgion to Monte Cassino by Benedict of Porto, probably also refers to the Evergetis (see Leccisotti and Avagliano, *Regesti*, vol. 1, no. 27; Pressutti, *Regesta*, vol. 1, no. 564 and Liverani, *Epistolae*, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 725), see our Appendix 6: Later Documents, Latin, B. The papal letter of 31 October 1222 notes that the properties of the Evergetis were to be held *liberum et exemptum* by Monte Cassino, perhaps an echo of the *autodespoton* status claimed in the *Hypotyposis*, see ch. 12, p. 175. For a general survey of the early years of the Greek church under Latin rule, see J. Richard, 'The Establishment of the Latin church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–1227)', in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (eds), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London/Totowa NJ, 1989), 45–62.

<sup>72</sup> See Leccisotti and Avagliano, *Regesti*, vol. 1 nos 40 and 28; Pressutti, *Regesta*, nos 4148 and 4149 (both 17 November, 1222) in Gattula, *Historia*, II, pp. 491–2 and E. Gattula, *Ad historiam abbatae Cassinensis accessiones* (Venice, 1734), p. 292. See our Appendix 6: Later Documents, Latin, E and F.

<sup>73</sup> Pargoire, 'Evergétis', pp. 163; 166; Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, p. 181.

<sup>74</sup> See A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und Kirchenunion*, 1–3, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (1922), no. 5; (1923), nos 2 and 3 repr. in *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973), Part II, 2, pp. 15–56. Text at pp. 35–46, see Appendix 6: Later Documents, Greek, B. For Mesarites, see *ODB*, 2, p. 1246 and A. Kazhdan and S. Franklin, 'Nicephorus



A final piece of evidence concerning the Evergetis in Byzantine times may be provided in the account of a court case being held before the patriarchal synod of Matthew I (1397–1410) in 1399.<sup>75</sup> This mentions a certain Michael Astras as a *ktetor* of a Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis and the monks as absentee and neglectful landlords of property on the island of Lemnos. Pargoire was uncertain as to whether the Evergetis mentioned was the Constantinopolitan house or one on the island itself; John Thomas suggests that the role of ‘absentee’ fits better with an institution far off in the capital than with one on Lemnos itself.<sup>76</sup>

What then became of the Evergetis? John Thomas has argued that there are distinct ‘echos’ of the Evergetine tradition in *typika* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notably those of the monasteries of Bebaia Elpis and Menoikeion; and that this influence is perhaps easier to explain if the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis had itself survived.<sup>77</sup> As he also points out, the probable dating of the note at the very end of Cod. Athen. graec. 788 indicates that this manuscript was not donated until the sixteenth century. Does this indicate that the monastery itself had died by then? We simply do not know.

### *The Location of the Evergetis Monastery*

The precise location of the Evergetis Monastery is not known, though if it can be identified with the ‘Santa Maria de Virgiot(t)is’ or ‘Santa Maria de Virgion’ of the thirteenth-century Latin documents, its general location has been established as being ‘less than two miles’ outside the Theodosian land walls.<sup>78</sup> The *Hypotyposis* certainly indicates an extra-mural location, as Paul is described as having made his foundation on a country estate which he had inherited. In addition, the *hegoumenos* was only allowed to visit Constantinople on certain occasions and visits by other monks on his behalf were controlled.<sup>79</sup> Lyn Rodley suggests that, since the liturgical *Synaxarion* of the Evergetis twice mentions activities in the monastery involving ‘going down’, the house, or at least some of its buildings,

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Chrysoberges and Nicholas Mesarites: A Comparative Study’, in A. Kazhdan with S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 224–55.

<sup>75</sup> See MM, vol. 2, pp. 322–3 and Appendix 6: Later Documents, Greek, C.

<sup>76</sup> See *EvTyp*, p. 457.

<sup>77</sup> See *BMFD*, vol. 4, ch. 9, p. 1485. *BebaiaElpisTyp*, p. 1531; *MenoikeionTyp*, p. 1581.

<sup>78</sup> See A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien* (TIB, 12, Vienna, 2008), pp. 672–3, which summarises, as do we, Rodley, ‘Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like’ and ‘Still in Search of the Theotokos Evergetis’. See Appendix 6: Later Documents, Latin, A and C.

<sup>79</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 2, pp. 148–9; 13, pp. 178–9; 33, p. 198.

was situated on a hill or hillside. The west flank of the Haznedar Valley in the modern region of Bahçelievler fits the bill; a suggested Byzantine site at Yenibosna appears, at some 6.5 km away from the land walls, to be too far away from them to be that of the Evergetis.<sup>80</sup> By the thirteenth century, if not earlier, the Evergetis also possessed a *metochion* (dependent house) in Constantinople itself. This was probably in the south-western area of Constantinople near to the female monastery of St Andrew in Krisei (its church survives as Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii) and may have been on the site now occupied by the Greek Church of the Theotokos Gorgoepikoos. The house was dedicated to St Andrew, though it is not clear whether this was St Andrew the Apostle or St Andrew 'Salos' (St Andrew the Fool). St Sava was reported to have stayed both at the Evergetis and, in 1235, in 'St Andrew the Apostle', presumably the *metochion*. The early thirteenth-century Russian pilgrim, Antony of Novgorod, reported that the house possessed the iron, cross-tipped staff of the Apostle Andrew; a later Russian description of Constantinople, based on a Byzantine original of 1389–91, considered it to be the staff of St Andrew the Fool. Whichever Andrew is concerned here, it seems likely that the Evergetis *metochion* in Constantinople was either dedicated to, or had a church dedicated to, a St Andrew.<sup>81</sup>

### 3. The Evergetis and Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis was clearly a coenobitic or communal house and, as such, stands as an example of the most characteristic form of Byzantine urban, or quasi-urban monasticism.<sup>82</sup> The communal monastic life

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<sup>80</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, VIII.06C (Feast of the Transfiguration), p. 235: 'And immediately the *lite* goes out with the great cross and the precious wood, and it goes away to the oratory of the Saviour; and when we have carried out an *ektene* there, we go *down* and circle round the cells of the brethren...'; T.14V (Wednesday of the First Week of Lent), p. 371: 'Then when the *semantron* sounds, those who wish go *downto* the *trapeza*'. Thanks to Ken Dark for the interesting suggestion that terracing, rather than a hillside might be referred to here. For Yenibosna, see Rodley, 'Still in Search of the Theotokos Evergetis', p. 225. See also the Map, p. ii.

<sup>81</sup> See Rodley, 'Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like', pp. 20–21; G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), pp. 315–6; *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, ed. and trans. L. Rydén, 2 vols (Uppsala, 1995), I, p. 203.

<sup>82</sup> For monasticism in Constantinople before this period, see P. Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople c.350–850* (Cambridge, 2007) and R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995).

was followed in the urban context for a number of practical and spiritual reasons. Ensuring the physical security of the monks was just as important an issue in towns as it was in the countryside, for Byzantine towns were far from safe and the city of Constantinople was particularly crime-ridden.<sup>83</sup> The *Hypotyposis* of the Evergetis, indeed, envisaged that the monks might have to flee from marauders raiding the fertile lands immediately outside the walls of the city.<sup>84</sup> The community, like any lay grouping of any significance safely gathered all together behind its walls, thus stood a better chance of surviving any kind of attack.<sup>85</sup>

But it was not merely the physical attacks of bandits and raiders that the communal enclosed monastery was created to combat. Of far more significance were the attacks of demonic forces which could tempt, frustrate, agitate and, ultimately, destroy those monks who were not robust enough in their faith and spiritual constitution to repel them. The debate about which form of the monastic life provided the best circumstances both for the repulsion of the unceasing attacks of the Devil and his cohorts and for the flowering of the individual monk's spirituality dates from the earliest period of Byzantine monasticism and it would be misleading to suggest that it was ever resolved.<sup>86</sup> The life of the solitary ascetic is still given an honoured place in the Orthodox monastic tradition today; certainly, both at the time of the foundation of the Evergetis and in the centuries following, a number of permutations of the solitary/communal monastic equation can clearly be discerned. While at one end of the spectrum, the solitary wandering 'holy man' or the stylite had, by the twelfth century, become a figure of some suspicion (though, it should be noted, had not entirely disappeared), at the other, the founders of even the most apparently communal institutions made provision for those advanced in

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<sup>83</sup> The Frankish priest, Odo of Deuil, visited the city in the mid-twelfth century and reported the 'dark and dirty places for travellers and for the poor. There murder and robberies occur, as well as other sordid crimes which love the dark. Life in this city is lawless, since it has as many lords as it has rich men and almost as many thieves as poor men... Constantinople exceeds the average in everything – it surpasses other cities in wealth and also in vice.' (trans. J. Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History* (Milwaukee, WI, 1962), pp. 109–11. Much more work needs to be done on Byzantine crime; neither the *ODB* nor the *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* contains an entry on this subject.

<sup>84</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

<sup>85</sup> See Rodley, 'Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like', pp. 22–3 for the perimeter wall.

<sup>86</sup> D. Papachryssanthou, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècles', *REB*, 43 (1973), 158–80, argues persuasively against the old idea of a chronological evolution from lavriote to coenobitic monasticism.

spirituality to live a far more secluded and solitary life.<sup>87</sup> Even if this were to be done within the confines of the monastic establishment (rather than in separate cells beyond the main centre), the important point is that it was still recognised that eremitic values, especially those of self-discipline in the face of satanic attack, did have their part to play in all monastic communities.

Long before the foundation of the Evergetis, indeed, monastic founders had found ways of selecting what they found inspiring from both the coenobitic and the lavriote way and they were to continue to do so.<sup>88</sup> At the end of the tenth century, Athanasios of Athos, for example, made provision for five solitaires to live in specially constructed cells within the enclosure of his monastery; they were to be chosen from among the more spiritually advanced monks.<sup>89</sup> At the end of the eleventh, Christodoulos of Patmos allowed in his monastic regulations for 12 hesychasts to live 'on rocks, in caves or in *kellia*' so that it could be clearly demonstrated that this kind of life was still valued and could be aspired to by the coenobitic majority.<sup>90</sup> Thus the provision in the *Hypotyposis* that the *hegoumenos* (or one of them, since two seem to have been at first envisaged) might live the solitary life is simply another variant of this kind of 'hybrid' monasticism.<sup>91</sup> Although the regulations for the conduct of the monastic life at the Evergetis emphasised the value of the *koinobion*, the fact that no provision seems to have been made in the surviving regulations for any other solitaires is not, in itself, conclusive proof that there were none.<sup>92</sup> This is an issue which, in the case of some other monasteries, has been assisted by the researches of architectural historians, but for Evergetis, they have unfortunately nothing to work on.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 51–66. See Introduction, B. 4 for a discussion of the recluse *hegoumenos* in the Evergetis.

<sup>88</sup> For the *lavra*, a monastery where monks lived solitary lives in individual cells (*kellia*) meeting together for the liturgy each week, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1190. In the *koinobion*, monks might sleep in individual cells or in dormitories, but ate and worshipped together throughout the week, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1136.

<sup>89</sup> See *Athanasios Typ*, ch. 37, p. 260.

<sup>90</sup> See *Christodoulos Rule*, A24, p. 592.

<sup>91</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, pp. 177–8 and for a discussion of the double hegoumenate see Introduction, B. 4.

<sup>92</sup> The seal of a stylite 'of the Evergetis' is published in Laurent, *Sceaux*, V.2., no. 1302. If this is to be associated with our Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, then it is further indication of a variety of monastic life-styles practised there.

<sup>93</sup> See, for example, the Map in T. Wiegand, *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, II/I: Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), where the site of Paul of Latros' *stylos* (actually within the monastic enclosure) is marked.

If the role of the Evergetis as a 'promoter' of *exclusively* coenobitic monasticism should not be overstressed, so, too, any suggestion that it acted as some kind of bastion of 'reform' in the monastic world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries should be treated with caution. This for two reasons: firstly, that the expressed wish to 'reform' the lax habits of one's own day and return to a perceived 'golden age' of the early monks was an oft-repeated refrain of monastic founders and hagiographers and, secondly, because it is difficult precisely to associate the concerns of the Evergetis *dossier* with those expressed by other contemporary commentators on the monastic scene.<sup>94</sup>

John Thomas, who has put the case for an Evergetine 'Reform Movement' most forcefully, rightly emphasises the importance laid in the Evergetis administrative *typikon* both on establishing the independence of the house and on creating a sense of equality within it.<sup>95</sup> It was to be *autodespoton* (independent and self-governing): no outside figure should have control over any aspect of the monastery's organisation. Not only laymen were envisaged here. Byzantine canon law allowed rights of jurisdiction over monasteries – both administrative and moral – to the episcopate and patriarchate. As in other monastic sources, such as hagiography, none of these rights are mentioned, let alone acknowledged, in the foundation documents associated with the Evergetis.<sup>96</sup>

The 'powerful lay outsider', in particular the so-called *charistikarios*, intent upon both dictating the way of life of the house and creaming off the profits from its lands, is a familiar villain in modern studies on monastic life in the Middle Byzantine period and indeed makes his appearance in the Evergetis texts.<sup>97</sup> But

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<sup>94</sup> Paul Evergetinos himself displayed this nostalgia, by choosing to make a collection of the sayings and teachings of the early monastic fathers in his *Synagoge*.

<sup>95</sup> See J.P. Thomas, 'Documentary Evidence from the Byzantine Monastic *typika* for the History of the Evergetine Reform Movement', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 246–73 and, more recently, 'Early Reform Monasteries of the Eleventh Century', ch. 4 of *BMFD*, vol. 2, 441–53. The idea of an Evergetine reform is also strongly advocated in M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), see esp. pp. 40: 'a reformist current that went back to the foundation of the Theotokos Evergetis and even before...'; 269–78.

<sup>96</sup> See Introduction, B. 6: Status and Possessions of the Evergetis.

<sup>97</sup> See J. Darrouzès, 'Dossier sur le charisticariat', in *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 150–65. For the treatise of John of Antioch against the *charistikarioi*: P. Gautier, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB*, 33 (1975), 77–132, dated by its editor to 1091. This purports to trace the history of the institution (*charistikion*; *charistike dorea*) – by which monasteries could be placed under the administrative power of either other churchmen or laymen for a period of up to three 'lives' – back to the period of the iconoclast emperors. For further texts and discussion of the various means by which monasteries might be placed wholly, or partly,

it is a very brief and almost formulaic one.<sup>98</sup> The drafters of the various parts of the *Hypotyposis* did not mention or concern themselves with *charistikarioi* and there is no evidence whatsoever that the house was ever troubled by them.<sup>99</sup> Interestingly, the *charistikarios's* 'opposite number', the benevolent lay protector, the *epitropos* or *ephoros*, the man with connections who could speed legal matters along at the imperial court, or provide some much needed investment for agrarian development, does not specifically appear either.<sup>100</sup> This is not to say, of course, that the realities of monastic survival did not lead the successive *hegoumenoi* of the Evergetis into relationships with powerful laymen at one time or another. Two names of influential families in the eleventh century – those of Promotenos and Kataphloron – are mentioned as examples of laymen who had made gifts to the house and since the monk Anthony was almost certainly a member of the Doukas family, then such patronage could come from the highest echelons of Byzantine society.<sup>101</sup> But the founding document of the monastery did not assign these laymen any specific legal role *vis-à-vis* the monastery, emphasising, rather, the importance of unhindered self-government within the house.

While it is impossible to deduce from Byzantine monastic foundation documents much about what really went on in practice, they can certainly demonstrate what their founders or their drafters considered to be of organisational importance. In the case of the Evergetis, great efforts were made to create a self-governing community unhindered by outside influence. In particular, the appointment of the *hegoumenos* was to be made by the senior monks and the admission of new monks was to be under his control. Newly admitted monks (however grand their station in secular life) were not to bring servants or followers with them. The giving of an *apotage* or *prosenexis* (entrance gift) was not to be compulsory and no preference was to be given to a postulant who freely offered a large sum.<sup>102</sup> Thus the important issue of the make-up of the monastic 'family' was, in theory, to be left to the existing members of that family and the community, once constituted, was bound by its regulations to

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under the control of third parties (ecclesiastical or lay), see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 157–62. M. Kaplan, 'Les monastères et le siècle à Byzance: les investissements des laïcs au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 27 (1984), 71–83, repr. in *Byzance. Villes et campagnes* (Paris, 2006), 123–37, discusses the economic implications.

<sup>98</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 12, pp. 176–7 and Introduction, B. 6.

<sup>99</sup> John Thomas argues that 'the author of *Evergetis* [the *hypotyposis*] ... diplomatically omits to mention the *charistike* specifically', see 'Early Reform Monasteries', p. 443. We cannot, surely, know what he (or they) had in mind.

<sup>100</sup> For the *epitropos* and *ephoros*, see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 158–60.

<sup>101</sup> See Appendices 4 and 5.

<sup>102</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 37, p. 204.



aspire to a life which aimed to eradicate secular social differences rather than perpetuate them.

In fact, mixed messages emerge from the *Hypotyposis*. On the one hand, no hierarchy was to be visible in the seating in the refectory and any monk who continually complained about his place at table was to be evicted from the house.<sup>103</sup> All, save the sick, were to share the same food, drink, clothing and footwear.<sup>104</sup> The *oikonomos* could be removed from office for doing favours for friends or relatives, and there was to be 'no pointless partiality and irrational favouritism'.<sup>105</sup> But on the other hand, by the time the existing version of the *Hypotyposis* emerged, 'distinguished people' or those long known to the house served a shorter noviciate than the 'common' or the 'unknown';<sup>106</sup> those who had 'accomplished something for the house' were to be commemorated in the monks' prayers and 'eminent and noble' women were the only females to be allowed, on occasion, to enter the monastery.<sup>107</sup> If the *hegoumenos* was not available, he was to be allowed to authorise other suitable monks to hear the confession of 'the more uneducated majority'.<sup>108</sup> But even here, what might seem to be preferential treatment based on social status was only enjoyed by those who were either already on the fringes of the monastic family, or who might soon gain that position. Control over admissions by the *hegoumenos* was aimed to prevent the imposition of candidates by emperors and patriarchs for political or penal reasons and by family members seeking to gain control of the house.<sup>109</sup>

In its emphasis on standing well apart from worldly influences which might be brought to bear on the selection of monks for the monastery and, indeed, the appointment to offices within the house, the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* must therefore be numbered under the more austere of monastic foundation documents. The founders, Timothy and Paul, were to be commemorated by memorial prayers, as were deceased monks, but no mention is made of any commemorations of

<sup>103</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, p. 167, a passage that can be attributed to Paul. But ch. 14, p. 183, in a passage by Timothy, seems to indicate that the *hegoumenos* had a special place, as one who had been removed from that position but who still remained in the house, could sit next to him.

<sup>104</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 26, p. 195.

<sup>105</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, p. 184.

<sup>106</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 37, p. 203 and n. 297. The length of the noviciate for the 'distinguished' is unspecified, but must have been less than six months, the time specified for the 'common'.

<sup>107</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 36, p. 201; 39, p. 206.

<sup>108</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 7, pp. 160–61.

<sup>109</sup> See Thomas, 'Early Reform Monasteries', p. 444. For monasteries as prisons, see A. Guillou, 'Le monde carcéral en Italie du sud et en Sicile au VIe–VIIe siècle', in *JÖB*, 33 (1983), 79–86; but the whole subject of Byzantine prisons needs investigating.

their families, still less is any patronal interest allowed from outside. This kind of 'limited access' stands in stark contrast to the long lists of relatives who are to be commemorated in great imperial houses of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, such as the Theotokos Kecharitomene and Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople and the provisions that allowed more or less free access to the monastic life to any relatives or descendants of their founders.<sup>110</sup> Indeed, one of the reasons why we have such difficulty in identifying the lay identities of the few named members of the Evergetine community is that we are given no information about their families. So whatever reasons may have lain behind the foundation of the Evergetis and its subsequent renewal, the provision of a family mausoleum or commemorative centre does not seem to have been one of them.

But here again, it would be a mistake to see the Evergetis way of doing things as being completely out of step with other monastic foundations of the period. The *typika* of the eleventh-century monasteries founded by Michael Attaleiates and Gregory Pakourianos, though somewhat more concerned with family commemorations than that of the Evergetis, certainly do not have the extensive lists to be found in other examples.<sup>111</sup> It may be that there was another document (now lost) in the Evergetis *dossier*, akin to the *Synodikon* of the Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mt Athos, in which the names of founders' kin and donors to be remembered in the liturgy were noted.<sup>112</sup> Be that as it may, there is no particular mention in the foundation documents, as we have them, of family funeral chapels or extensive lists of post-mortem remembrances.

The emphasis on 'distance' from the world, by which was undoubtedly meant the dangerous world of power and influence rather than such homely contacts as those with the lay faithful who brought gifts of food on feast days, was emphasised by prohibitions on the monks communicating with their secular families and on the *begoumenos* leaving the monastery except for a few specified circumstances.<sup>113</sup> The surviving documents thus paint a picture of an institution which promoted a deliberately separate existence and whose regulations were more severe on these matters than those of other contemporary houses. But there were estates beyond the walls of the Evergetis to be attended to and an

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<sup>110</sup> See *KecharitomeneTyp*, chs 4, pp. 670–71; 71, pp. 700–702; *PantokratorTyp*, ch. 8, pp. 742–3.

<sup>111</sup> *AttaleiatesRule*, ch. 31, p. 349; *PakourianosTyp*, ch. 21, p. 544.

<sup>112</sup> See *Actes d'Ivirôn*, vol. 2: *Du milieu du XI siècle à 1204*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, with V. Kravari and H. Métrévélis (Archives de l'Athos, 16, Paris, 1990), pp. 3–11.

<sup>113</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 13, p. 178; 14, p. 182; 22, p. 192.



*oikonomos* to take charge of their management.<sup>114</sup> So a somewhat greater degree of contact with the laity has to be envisaged than that laid down in the regulatory documents. Again, we are hampered by the incompleteness of the Evergetis dossier; the real nature and frequency of contacts with the lay world can only be revealed by the survival of extensive archives such as those of the monasteries of Athos or Patmos. We know nothing, for instance, of economic life on, or the fiscal status of, the property of the Evergetis, save that, by the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, 28 of its dependent peasants were free of tax. This suggests that the lands and their other cultivators were not; thus the monastery must have had dealings with imperial tax-officials.<sup>115</sup> But the founders of the Evergetis were, seemingly, at pains to keep mentions of such associations to a minimum unlike, for example, the various regulatory documents of Athos or of Patmos which allowed for the export of surplus agricultural products and the possession of boats (clear indications of extensive lay contacts and travel well beyond the confines of the monastery) or the *Typikon* of Pakourianos which saw nothing reprehensible in allowing the monks to obtain new habits (or the cloth for them) at the annual Easter *panegyris* (fair) held outside the monastery.<sup>116</sup>

Within any house the figure of the *hegoumenos* was of paramount importance and here, again, the duties the *Hypotyposis* envisages for the *hegoumenos* of the Evergetis have been taken to epitomise a 'reformist' regime. What should we make of the insistence that the *hegoumenos* should not be one who had 'made a display of his seniority or his achievements or his noble birth'<sup>117</sup> and should rule in consultation with the senior monks? Is this a move away from a more 'patriarchal' system to one that, again, tends to emphasise the equality of the brotherhood, where advancement is solely due to the display of spiritual virtue? If so, does this constitute a reform, or again simply an emphasis on one particular aspect of an already existing monastic 'vocabulary'? If we knew more about the origins of Paul and Timothy and their successors in the hegoumenate, we might be in a better position to judge whether the office did, indeed, pass to the most spiritually virtuous, or to one who was 'pre-eminent' for some other reason.

If the administrative ideals of the *Hypotyposis* have suggested aspects of a different kind of monasticism, so, too, have aspects of its spiritual practices. Here the work of other members of the Evergetis Project team is of paramount importance in elucidating the kind of monasticism advocated by Paul

<sup>114</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 33, p. 198 and 34, p. 200 which mention the superintendents of property belonging to the Evergetis.

<sup>115</sup> *Hypotyposis*, pp. 212–13 and n. 342.

<sup>116</sup> See Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 220; 233. *Pakourianos Typikon*, ch. 9, pp. 534–5.

<sup>117</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 17, p. 187.

Evergetinos, the first founder.<sup>118</sup> Barbara Crostini Lappin has established that the reading prescribed in the *Hypotyposis* for the end of the Office of the First Hour, the 'short catechesis from the words of the fathers, that read by the *proestos*, as we have inherited from our blessed father', was a reference to the relevant homily from Paul's *Katechetikon*.<sup>119</sup> Although, as she points out, the sources for Paul's homilies were 'overwhelmingly Stoudite', Paul re-organised them to make them more appropriate for the monastic routine of his own house and provided the wherewithal for a daily guide from the Fathers on matters of monastic behaviour and morality.<sup>120</sup> But, for reasons which are unclear, Paul's original plan for a daily reading of a *katechesis* from his collection was soon abandoned, as the *Synaxarion* only gives details of those to be given in Lent.<sup>121</sup>

Spiritual emphases found in the *Katechetikon* are also echoed in the *Hypotyposis*. For Paul, the 'defining role' of the *begoumenos* was to concern himself with the salvation of his monks, thus the daily liturgy and *exagoreusis* (confession) heard by the *begoumenos*, prescribed in the *Hypotyposis*, indicated a distinctly more 'sacramental' life than that found in other monasteries.<sup>122</sup> Another emphasis in the *Katechetikon* was laid on obedience to the *begoumenos*; again this is echoed in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>123</sup> Janet Rutherford's studies on the texts collected in Paul's *Synagoge* suggest some other of Paul's pre-occupations: his emphasis on personal humility and self-effacement (borne out by his use of the plural 'We' – rather than the singular 'I' – in the *Hypotyposis* passages which he drafted); an emphasis on asceticism and a greater concern for the souls of his monks than for the fabric of their house.<sup>124</sup> One wonders, however, whether, in practice, such a concentration of attention on the matters of the spirit could ever fully be achieved. For the *Hypotyposis* itself contains instructions on what to do about those who, for reasons good or bad, missed their sessions of confession or were late for services or meals (an important demonstration of the communal spirit). There were clearly members of the community who lived

<sup>118</sup> See Introduction A. 1: The Evergetis Dossier, on the *Katechetikon*.

<sup>119</sup> See Crostini Lappin, 'Katechetikon of Paul', pp. 125–9.

<sup>120</sup> See B. Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis as Founder and Reformer', in Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders*, 379–95, p. 385.

<sup>121</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Katechetikon of Paul', pp. 128–9.

<sup>122</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 5, p. 155; 7, pp. 160–63; 15, pp. 184–6 and Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', p. 386.

<sup>123</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 16, p. 186 and Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', p. 391.

<sup>124</sup> See J. Rutherford, 'Paul and the *Synagoge*', in Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders*, 396–411, esp. p. 409. The subjects of *EvSynag*, I, Topic 26, Passage 8, taken from John Cassian, for example, echo many of Paul's preoccupations in the *Hypotyposis*, such as going straight to cells after worship without speaking, having no possessions and punishments for lateness.

beyond the monastery on its estates, and who therefore could not partake fully in its sacramental life.<sup>125</sup> Nonetheless, concerns of the spirit *are* made much of in all the Evergetis texts and it is important to take note of their intention, even if there are some doubts about their execution.

Is there, then, any evidence to link the way of life promoted by the founders of the Evergetis and their successor monks with other matters of concern to contemporary commentators on monastic life in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Here chronology is of paramount importance. As we have seen, the powerful polemics against the appropriation of monastic wealth by grasping *charistikarioi*, or even, in the case of Alexios I Komnenos, by the emperor himself were issued *after* the foundation documents of the Evergetis had been first drafted.<sup>126</sup> Similarly, the continuing attempts by bishops to extend their influence over all the monasteries of their sees came to a head at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>127</sup> The *Hypotyposis* does not recognise even the early stages of this process and, indeed, is suspicious of any external ecclesiastical influence over the house.<sup>128</sup> We should therefore look to the period before the composition of the *Hypotyposis* for any possible outside context for its monastic ideology.

Recent research has, in fact, suggested that a subtle critique of monastic *mores* in the first half of the eleventh century may be found in the works of Paul Evergetinos, which, in our view, also included the first draft of the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>129</sup> Paul may have been reacting to the contemporary situation at the great Constantinopolitan Monastery of St John of Stoudios. He was clearly familiar with this house; its celebrated library is an obvious possible location for the composition of the *Synagoge*.<sup>130</sup> Many of Paul's *katecheseis* borrowed extensively from those of its house's famous founder, Theodore the Stoudite.<sup>131</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>125</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 7, p. 160 for absence from confession; ch. 9, p. 169 for reasonable absence from meals; ch. 34, p. 200 for the superintendents of property outside the Evergetis.

<sup>126</sup> See p. 20 and n. 97 above for the *charistikarioi*. For the protest of Leo, Metropolitan of Chalcedon, against Alexios Komnenos' confiscation of church vessels to finance his wars in the 1080s, see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 270–72.

<sup>127</sup> See Darrouzès, 'Dossier sur le charisticariat', for documents and Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 272–4 for discussion.

<sup>128</sup> See Introduction, B. 6.

<sup>129</sup> See Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>130</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', p. 393.

<sup>131</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Originality and Dependence in the *Katechetikon*' and, in greater detail, B. Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary: The Evergetis Katechetikon* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Oxford, 1998), pp. 147; 171–88.

he may well have been a monk there before founding his own house.<sup>132</sup> While Olivier Delouis sees Paul as inspired by the daily lives of the Stoudite monks and helping to propagate its coenobitic and liturgical heritage by his intensive use of the works of Theodore the Stoudite,<sup>133</sup> Barbara Crostini Lappin suggests that 'Paul's new foundation is better understood as an attempt to depart from Stoudite custom, rather than an effort of emulation of his famous forebear'.<sup>134</sup> In particular, in her view, Paul was concerned about the involvement in politics of powerful Constantinopolitan monasteries such as Stoudios and thus not only founded his house outside the walls, but limited the access of its *hegoumenos* to the City. He was surely aware of the turmoil in Stoudios at the end of the tenth century, when Symeon the Stoudite (also known as Symeon 'Eulabes', 'the Pious') and his disciple Symeon the New Theologian began to question the way the relationship between monk and *hegoumenos* was articulated, especially in its spiritual dimension, hence Paul's concern to define and strengthen the role of the *hegoumenos* in his own house.<sup>135</sup> It is difficult to establish any direct links between the writings of Symeon the New Theologian and those of Paul or between Symeon's re-founded Monastery of St Mamas and the Evergetis, but the very fact that Paul decided to found his own house, rather than entering – or remaining in – Stoudios, must suggest that he was not satisfied with the way of life practised in either of these houses in the mid-eleventh century.<sup>136</sup> The foundation of the Evergetis may, then, have been the consequence of Paul's unhappiness with a very specific monastic *milieu*. The fact remains, however, that we know nothing about Paul's previous monastic life; the silence in the *Hypotyposis* about it should not, however, be taken at face value. Paul and Timothy chose (as did

<sup>132</sup> Chapter 2 of the *Hypotyposis* is – perhaps deliberately – vague on the issue of where (and by whom) Paul was tonsured, but the strong Stoudite influences and the access to a rich library, such as that at Stoudios, evident in his writings suggest that it might well have been there.

<sup>133</sup> O. Delouis, *Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Stoudios à Constantinople*, 2 vols (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Université Paris I-Sorbonne, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 490–93.

<sup>134</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', p. 393.

<sup>135</sup> Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 346–7, points out that there are no excerpts from Symeon the New Theologian's writings in the *Synagoge* and that, although the Evergetine documents do, as do Symeon's writings, emphasise the importance of confession, they share none of his mystical tone. See also Delouis, 'Stoudios', vol. 2, pp. 484–89; Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', p. 393 and, for the issue of spiritual counselling, H.J.M. Turner, *St Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden, 1990).

<sup>136</sup> See B. Crostini Lappin, 'Fondatori a confronto: San Simeone il Nuovo Teologo e Paolo Everghetinos attraverso le "catechesi"', in *Simeone il Nuovo Teologo ed il monachesimo a Costantinopoli* (=Atti del X Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa: sezione bizantine, Magnano, 2003), 103–28.

many founders) to see the *Hypotyposis* as marking a new beginning; an account of Paul's previous monastic life was irrelevant to this perspective. It is extremely unlikely, however, that Paul could have composed his *Katecheseis*, still less his *Synagoge*, in a newly-founded house without the extensive library of spiritual writings to which these works bear witness. It is also unlikely that Paul created the regulations for his house from scratch, but any precise textual inspiration for them has yet to be established.

The founding of the Evergetis cannot, then, be seen as the harbinger of general monastic reform in the eleventh century although it has been argued that some of the concerns of its founders are echoed in other contemporary monastic documents. The so-called *Theodore Psalter*, produced in the Monastery of Stoudios in 1066, is seen by Jeffrey Anderson and Charles Barber to echo the Evergetine emphasis on the importance of the *begoumenos* as a confessor and to encourage an 'ethical reading of the Psalms' with the same sort of emphasis on the saints as moral exemplars as that found in the *Synagoge*.<sup>137</sup> Dirk Krausmüller has associated the depiction of the *begoumenos*' installation in the Psalter with contemporary practice at the Evergetis.<sup>138</sup> But there is a danger of a circular argument here. For if, as seems clear, the Evergetis foundation documents were influenced by earlier Stoudite customs, and there is a likelihood that Paul had close ties to Stoudios, then it is not surprising that a similarity of spiritual emphases can be found in both these houses in the mid-eleventh century.

Once its role in any kind of 'reform movement' is questioned, other reasons have to be sought for the undoubted popularity of the *Hypotyposis* as a model in the century after its composition. Certainly, the availability of copies of the Evergetis *typika* – we know that both the *Hypotyposis* and the *Synaxarion* provided the model for later monastic practices – was a practical matter of the utmost importance. The fact that only one manuscript of versions of these texts now survives, provides no assistance in answering this question, for evidence from the dependent *typika* clearly indicates that there were earlier 'editions'.<sup>139</sup> But since other monastic *typika* undoubtedly existed in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the question must really be why that of the Evergetis was, in

<sup>137</sup> See J.C. Anderson, 'On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter', *Art Bulletin*, 70/4 (1988), 560–568, pp. 566–7 and C. Barber, 'Readings in the Theodore Psalter', in *Theodore Psalter*, ed. C. Barber (Electronic facsimile, Champaign, IL, 2000), 1–33, pp. 17–18 and *ibid.*, 'Authority, Mimesis and Prayer: Prolegomena to an Abbot's Reading of the Theodore Psalter', in *Theodore Psalter*, ed. Barber, 1–22, p. 8.

<sup>138</sup> D. Krausmüller, 'Abbots and Monks in Eleventh-century Stoudios: An Analysis of Rituals of Installation and their Depiction in Illuminated Manuscripts', *REB*, 64–6 (2007), 255–82.

<sup>139</sup> See Introduction, C. 14–15.

many cases, preferred above other possible *exempla*, bearing in mind, as Margaret Mullett has pointed out, that ‘copying of a text and the adoption of a rule may be very different things’.<sup>140</sup>

One of the strongest possible links is that of patronage. If the Evergetine monk Anthony is to be identified with John Doukas, the brother of the Empress Irene Doukaina, then he was a member of the extended family that ruled the Empire from the late eleventh to the late twelfth century.<sup>141</sup> Other members also founded or supported houses whose *typika* made use of the *Hypotyposis*. The *Typikon* for Irene Doukaina’s own foundation of the Theotokos Kecharitomene (1110–1116) in Constantinople may be the earliest, though that for the re-founded Monastery of St John the Forerunner of Phoberos (1113, re-edited c. 1144) may precede it. While nothing is known of John, the latter’s re-founder, though he may have had some connection to Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) who is also mentioned as a benefactor, its ‘second founder’, Eudokia Komnene, the daughter of Isaac Komnenos, was Alexios I Komnenos’ niece and, therefore, related through the emperor’s wife, Irene, to the Doukai.<sup>142</sup>

An even clearer link comes with the *Typikon* of the Monastery of the Kosmosoteira near Bera in Thrace (1152), founded by Alexios’ son, also Isaac, a document which openly cites the *Hypotyposis* of the Evergetis as its source:

Among those wise men who restored holy monasteries and assigned monks to them to sing praises to God, there were many who preferred the *Typikon* of the Evergetis to the [*typika*] used in other monasteries. I, too, following their [example], prefer this one, and I wish the monks to join in using it for all instructions, and not to overlook that which it stresses concerning the straight and spiritual path. They should hold to it with reference to the hymnody, and indeed with reference to all [matters] of conduct as the best possible guide for the benefit of the soul, and [as it were] an *enkolpion* in a setting of pearls. For this very reason I took particular care, with guidance from Heaven, in copying and transcribing, in this work, word-for-word what was written in the [other *typikon*].<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> See M. Mullett, ‘Founders, Refounders, Second Founders, Patrons’, in Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders*, 1–27, p. 4. See also the discussion in A.M. Pentkovskii, ‘Evergetidskii monastyr’ i imperatorskie monastyri v Konstantinopole v kontse XI–nachale XII veka’, *VV*, 63 (88), 2004, 76–88. We are immensely grateful to Leslie Brubaker for providing a copy of this article and to Jonathan Shepard for translating it for us.

<sup>141</sup> For the identity of the monk *kyr* Anthony, see Appendix 4.

<sup>142</sup> See *KecharitomeneTyp*, p. 649 and *PhoberosRule*, pp. 872–3.

<sup>143</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 8, pp. 801–2. An *enkolpion* was any object worn around the neck with Christian imagery or words or containing a relic, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 700.



The witness of the Kosmosoteira *Typikon* is immensely useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, it clearly indicates that Isaac (or his drafter) had a copy of an Evergetine document before him to which, as he claims, he closely adhered. Secondly, it declares that, by 1152, ‘many’ others had *already* made use of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and, finally, it confirms that the latter was considered to be particularly useful in the formation of monastic spirituality.

All of the three remaining Greek ‘relations’ of the Evergetis *typika* also have some degree of Komnene connection.<sup>144</sup> The re-founded Monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople, whose *typikon* dates to 1158, was re-established by the *mystikos* George the Cappadocian, a high official under the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). This *typikon* also refers to the use of liturgical practices contained in the Evergetis *Synaxarion*.<sup>145</sup> Its drafter, the monk Athanasios Philanthropenos, had previously been *oikonomos* of the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople, itself founded by Irene Doukaina, whose liturgical *typikon* is now known to have been very closely modelled on the Evergetis *Synaxarion*.<sup>146</sup> The Monastery of Heliou Bomon, or Elegmoi, whose *Typikon* is very closely based on that of St Mamas, was re-established by another of Manuel’s officials, the *mystikos* Nikephoros; its *Typikon* dates to 1162. Interestingly, however, the Elegmoi *Typikon* refers to ‘the Stoudite *Synaxarion* which is sung at the present time’ rather than to that of the Evergetis.<sup>147</sup> Finally, although the monk Neilos’ *Typikon* of the Cypriot Monastery of Machairas dates to 1210, the house was actually founded by the Palestinian monk Neophytos before 1172. The latter’s disciple Ignatios, with his fellow monk Prokopios, travelled to Constantinople and succeeded in obtaining privileges from Manuel Komnenos.<sup>148</sup> There are strong grounds, therefore, both for associating the Evergetis Monastery with the

<sup>144</sup> A point noted by Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 290–1; 295.

<sup>145</sup> See *MamasTyp*, chs 8, p. 1002; 46, p. 1024; 47, p. 1025.

<sup>146</sup> See Kouroupou and Vannier, ‘Commémoraisons des Comnènes’, p. 41. A. M. Pentkovskii has now published a section of this liturgical *typikon*, see A. M. Pentkovskii, ‘Bogosluzhebnyi sinaksar’ konstantinopol’skogo monastyrja Khrista Chelovekoliubtsa: (Istanbul, Patriarchallibrary, Panaghia Kamariotissa, Cod. 29); sentiabr’, 1–14, in *Bogoslovskii Vestnik*, 4 (2004), 177–208. It may well have been via the administrative *Typikon* of Christ Philanthropos (now lost) that the Evergetine tradition was passed down. See Introduction, C. 18. A note in Ms. Athos Esphigmenos, 45, an important manuscript witness to Paul’s *Katechetikon*, provides the information that the reading of this collection was introduced in the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos in 1106–7 (see Crostini, ‘Scriptorium of Evergetis’, p. 191 and Crostini Lappin, ‘*Katechetikon* of Paul’, p. 126), indicating a further Evergetine association.

<sup>147</sup> See *ElegmoiTyp*, chs 8, p. 1059; 45, p. 1081; 46, p. 1082.

<sup>148</sup> *MachairasRule*; John Thomas suggests that their visit took place in the 1160s, see p. 1107.

Doukas/Komnenos kinship group and for seeing the creation of the Evergetine ‘family’ of texts as an interesting side-effect of the establishment of Komnene ‘family government’.

The only known non-Greek *typikon* to be based on that of the Evergetis was drawn up by St Sava (the Serbian Prince Rastko) for the Monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos (?1199) and later provided a model for that of Studenica in Serbia.<sup>149</sup> Although one could also postulate a Komnene connection here, since Sava’s brother, Stefan the ‘First-Crowned’, was married to Eudokia, daughter of the Emperor Alexios III Angelos, a direct descendent of Alexios I Komnenos, his connection with the Evergetis was, in fact, much more direct. Both he and his father, the monk Symeon (Stefan Nemanja) are described in contemporary texts as *ktetores* of the Evergetis, and habitually stayed there when they visited Constantinople.<sup>150</sup> They were thus in an excellent position to see a late-twelfth-century version of the Evergetis *Typikon* for themselves.<sup>151</sup>

Imperial family and administrative connections thus help to explain the influence of the *Hypotyposis* of the Evergetis. Later founders and the drafters of their *typika* clearly wanted, in some sense, to become part of the community of the Evergetis and to share in the meritorious spirituality identified by Isaac Komnenos in his *Typikon* for the Monastery of Kosmosoteira. So it is perhaps not for information about the ‘nuts and bolts’ of monastic organisation that later founders looked to the Evergetis, but for access to the spiritual character of the house itself, expressed, to a degree, in the foundation documents themselves, but also, and more potently, in the writings of Paul Evergetinos. Certainly, a number of manuscripts of both Paul’s *Katecheseis* and the *Synagoge* had been produced by the end of the eleventh century; the inventory of the library of the Monastery of St John on Patmos (1200) mentions two copies of the latter.<sup>152</sup> Since Paul Evergetinos’ spiritual eminence was in a sense ‘located’ in

<sup>149</sup> The influence of the Evergetis *typikon* – via that of Chilandar – in the Balkans and Russia remains to be further investigated, as has been pointed out by David Goldfrank in ‘The *Hilandar Tipik*, Byzantine monastic Reform and late medieval Russia’, in M. Joković, D.E. Collins, M.A. Johnson and P. Matejic (eds), *Love of Learning and Devotion to God in Orthodox Monasteries* (Belgrade/Columbus, OH, 2006), 221–8, which the author most kindly made available to us. See Introduction C. 18.

<sup>150</sup> See the *Life of Sava* by Domentijan (1253/40) and Teodosije’s *Life of Sava* (late 13th c.), summarised in *Chilandar*, I, pp. 24–7.

<sup>151</sup> For further discussion of this text and its relation to the *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, C. 18.

<sup>152</sup> See Astruc, ‘L’inventaire’, items 58 and 267. See Crostini, ‘Scriptorium of Evergetis’, pp. 183; 187 where four of her provisional number of 68 mss of the *Synagoge* were dated to the eleventh century and two to the twelfth. Evaggeli Skaka has, so far, firmly identified 63 mss of the *Synagoge*, of which five date to the eleventh century and one to the twelfth.



the Evergetis – the name by which he is known is proof enough of that – then it surely made admirable sense for those who admired and wished to follow his teachings and to emulate his kind of spirituality, also to imitate and adapt the regulations of that house which were also associated, albeit distantly, with the figure of Paul himself.

In assessing the importance of the Evergetis in the history of Byzantine monasticism it is important to bear in mind that our sources present us with a particularly lop-sided view. We know virtually nothing about the monastic formation of its founders; Timothy was a disciple of Paul, but where did Paul come from and what was his family background? If we possessed the solution to that mystery, then many of the administrative and spiritual practices of the Evergetis could be placed in context. As it is, we can only identify possible links with Stoudios and speculate about any with the St Mamas of Symeon the New Theologian. We also have virtually nothing of the administrative documentation which every monastery possessed. Faint traces of it can be found: mentions of imperial chrysobulls for example, and possibly quotations from them embedded in the text of the administrative *typikon*.<sup>153</sup> A later addition to the original *typikon* makes mention of estates; but where is the full *brebion* that would contain their detailed description?<sup>154</sup> Where are the copies of donations, agreements, privileges and exemptions which, as we know from the *dossiers* of Athos and Patmos, comprised a monastic archive of this period? None of them survives and even the most important documents of all – the two *typika* – have only survived in their full form in one manuscript. Most of the later documents which are so clearly based on Evergetine models do not, indeed, acknowledge that fact.

These sorts of difficulties militate against attempting to ‘place’ the Evergetis too precisely into any kind of scheme, either into a model of a developing Byzantine monasticism which moves from lavriote to coenobitic, or into a model of some kind of monastic ‘reform’ movement. In essence Byzantine monasticism was individualistic in that, within certain parameters, many varieties of the spiritual life could be envisaged. The drafters of the Evergetine *typika*, like their predecessors and successors in the Byzantine monastic world, drew upon a common fund of spiritual and administrative tradition; it was what they chose to privilege that gave their institution its unique character.

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Barbara Crostini Lappin identifies four direct ms. transmissions of the *Katecheseis* as dating to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, see *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, pp. 19–46.

<sup>153</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 12 and n. 159.

<sup>154</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, appendix after ch. 43.

# Introduction B

## Administration and Life

### 4. The Double Hegoumenate

The Monastery of the Evergetis originally had a single *hegoumenos*, its first founder, Paul. In Chapter Thirteen of the *Hypotyposis*, which we attribute mainly to him, Paul decreed that this figure could be a hermit, ‘if he were to wish it’.<sup>1</sup> But, in passages written by Timothy, there is evidence that a double hegoumenate was, for a time, preferred. This would have meant that the ‘senior’ *hegoumenos* would have lived as a hermit, while the second *hegoumenos* lived the coenobitic life in the monastery. Timothy clearly indicates that he felt that the eremitic life was preferable and, indeed, had followed it for a time himself.<sup>2</sup> But he alludes to the fact that ‘it has been found that it is not beneficial to the monastery’<sup>3</sup> and although he left it open for his successor to follow his example and live as a recluse, he no longer insisted upon it. He also abandoned the idea of two superiors. Two linked issues therefore demand elucidation: the idea of the double hegoumenate (which might involve one of the *hegoumenoi* living as a hermit) and the idea that even a single *hegoumenos* might live as a recluse.

Even though the *Codex Justinianus* decreed that ‘each monastery should have a single *hegoumenos*’<sup>4</sup>, there were some Byzantine monasteries which seem, for a time at least, to have had more than one. A celebrated example, and one which, given the significance of the Stoudite tradition to the first founders of the Evergetis, would perhaps have been known by Timothy, was that of the joint hegoumenate of the Monastery of Sakkoudion in western Asia Minor. The *hegoumenos* and founder of this monastery, Plato, the uncle of Theodore of Stoudios, had wished to relinquish his post to his nephew, who, however, would not accept it until his uncle fell mortally ill in 794. An apparently dying Plato

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<sup>1</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178. For the layers of authorship of the *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, C. 17. See Appendix 1 for the reconstruction of Paul’s original *typikon*.

<sup>2</sup> ‘I myself made a start as indeed you yourselves also know’, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 177. Timothy was still a recluse in 1067, when he is mentioned as such in a note in Ms. Bod. Auct. T.2.2., see, Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 9, n. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch.13, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, p. 158, n. 158.

summoned his monks, who then unanimously elected Theodore. The old man, however, recovered and thus Sakkoudion had two *hegoumenoi* until the monks later departed for their new foundation of St John the Baptist of Stoudios in Constantinople.<sup>5</sup>

As Olivier Delouis has pointed out, it is very likely that the two men governed Sakkoudion together, for, after the migration to Stoudios, Plato is reported to have taken an oath that he would not be involved in its governance so that 'the brotherhood should not be placed under the surveillance of a double authority';<sup>6</sup> thus the situation at Sakkoudion should not be repeated. There are, however, indications that Plato *was* also considered to be *hegoumenos* of Stoudios. The *Chronicle of Theophanes*, under the year 806, mentions both Plato and Theodore as *hegoumenoi* of the house; Zonaras also retains a tradition of a joint hegoumenate of Stoudios in the reign of Michael I (811–813); the *Vita B* of Theodore of Stoudios records that, when his body was brought back to Constantinople for burial in 844, it was placed next to that of Plato 'his *hegoumenos*' and one manuscript of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* dating to the twelfth century (Paris. graec. 1587) notes the Feast of St Plato, '*hegoumenos* of Stoudios' on 4 April. Delouis's description of Plato's position as an '*emeritus* hegoumenos' seems apt.<sup>7</sup> Given Plato's great age by this time and his previous brush with serious illness, it seems unlikely that he had equal responsibility for the running of the monastery with Theodore, but nonetheless he was still alive – he died in 814 at the age of about 79 – and, presumably, available to give his advice. He was also qualified by Theophanes as a 'recluse' (*enkleistos*).<sup>8</sup>

Two further examples of joint hegoumenates may be cited: one from the period before the foundation of the Evergetis, the second much later. The *Testament* of the Patriarch Euthymios regulating his foundation of Psamathia and its *metochion Ta Agathou* (c. 917), which is encapsulated in the anonymous *Life of St Euthymios* written in the first half of the tenth century, appointed three of the 24 monks of Psamathia 'to rule over them' after his death. Euthymios similarly appointed 'up to three' of the monks of *Ta Agathou* 'to perform the office of superior'. After the deaths of the three ruling monks of Psamathia, the brethren were then to elect a single *hegoumenos*; in the case of *Ta Agathou*, they were to appoint a steward (*oikonomos*) from Psamathia so that thenceforth 'both flocks will be led by one shepherd' – the *hegoumenos* of Psamathia.<sup>9</sup> The *Testament* of Neilos, regulating his foundation of St John Prodromos on Mount

<sup>5</sup> Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, pp. 159–65.

<sup>6</sup> Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, p. 161, n. 169.

<sup>9</sup> *EuthymiosTest*, ch. 1, p. 123.

Athos, which was composed in 1330–31, established two of his spiritual sons, Daniel and Jacob, as his successors to the hegoumenate. Daniel was to be the senior partner, but was to govern with the consent of Jacob. If Daniel were to die in office, he was to be succeeded by Jacob. After Jacob's death, if any of Neilos' spiritual children remained alive, any one of them who was both monk and priest should take charge with another *hieromonachos* to assist him. It is not clear what was to happen after their deaths; perhaps, conforming to the most common pattern, a single *hegoumenos* was to be elected by the brethren.<sup>10</sup> In both these cases, it is clear that a 'double' (or even 'triple!') hegoumenate was seen as a temporary measure: in one case to facilitate the transition period to a monastic amalgamation and perhaps to help forestall any potential conflict in Psamathia and *Ta Agathou* which might have been caused if Euthymios had chosen a single *hegoumenos* for each house; in the other to respect the 'inheritance rights' of the spiritual sons of the founder.

What, then, was Timothy's motive in experimenting with a double hegoumenate? A first suggestion must be that he was following a pattern already established by Paul. If, as Gautier suggested, Paul founded the Evergetis in June 1049 and Timothy arrived in September of the same year, then nearly five years elapsed before Paul's death on 16 April 1054.<sup>11</sup> We know nothing of the working of the hegoumenate in this short period, or, indeed, of the role played in the monastery by Timothy, but it is clear that the latter was Paul's spiritual son and heir, as the house was left to him by Paul's will.<sup>12</sup> If Paul was elderly by this time and was spending much of his time putting the finishing touches to the *Synagoge* and composing his *Katecheseis*, then it is possible that Timothy came to act as the 'active' *hegoumenos* and, after Paul's death, attempted to continue this arrangement. Militating against this view is, of course, the information given by Timothy that, at Paul's death, the house was still in a 'small and simple' form, which would not, perhaps, have needed two leaders.<sup>13</sup>

Timothy's own explanation for not pursuing the idea does not emphasise any administrative difficulty arising from having two *hegoumenoi* – and here, of course, it would be most interesting to know who acted as Timothy's joint *hegoumenos* during the period when he *did* put this idea into practice – although he does remark that 'it has been found that it is not beneficial to the community in general'.<sup>14</sup> Rather, he focuses on the issue of the eremitic status of the senior *hegoumenos*. He did not wish the unconfined *hegoumenos* to be 'commanded to

<sup>10</sup> *NeilosTest*, chs 6; 8; 12; 13, pp. 1392–3.

<sup>11</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 16, nn. 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, p. 150.

<sup>13</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

go unwillingly' into seclusion, since it was 'the harshest yoke to bear'. Indeed, to issue such a command (which, coming from the existing *hegoumenos* would have to be unquestioningly followed as a matter of monastic obedience) would, he declared, be 'an outright use of force'. He thus, 'envisaging something better' decreed that there should be a sole *hegoumenos* after his death.<sup>15</sup>

It seems clear that Timothy was searching for a form of acceptable explanation for a rather unusual circumstance: the fact that a *hegoumenos* had been forced to change his mind about administrative arrangements that he had previously made for his house, or, possibly, that had already been made by the first founder. As we have seen, in the early ninth century, Plato, the uncle of Theodore of Stoudios, lived as a recluse when they were both at Stoudios, whilst Theodore saw to the day-to-day governance of the house.<sup>16</sup> Given the strong connections between Stoudios and the Evergetis, the former may have provided the inspiration for the idea of a recluse *hegoumenos*. But there were more recent examples, one of which was almost certainly familiar to both Paul and Timothy. In 941, St John of Rila (S. Bulgaria) drew up a *Testament* by which he established his successor, Gregory, as 'instructor and superior in place of me', whilst he himself withdrew 'henceforth to live in quiet and silence'.<sup>17</sup> John did not die until 946, so it is possible that, for the last five years of his life, the monastery was governed by a recluse, or, indeed, that some form of double hegoumenate was practised there. A slightly later example from Western Asia Minor, that of St Paul of Latros (d. 955), reveals a *hegoumenos* living as a solitary 'stylite' – his column (*stylos*) was, in fact, a cave at the top of a rock – actually within the monastic enclosure of the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* while his monks lived, according to

<sup>15</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

<sup>16</sup> As Delouis has demonstrated, it is Plato (not Naukratios, Theodore's successor) who is referred to in Theodore's so-called *Testament*, as having 'removed himself to perfect his humility in solitude by imitating Christ'. See *TheodoreTest*, p. 71, Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, pp. 109–23 where the composite (and *post mortem*) nature of the *Testament* is established and p. 111, n. 173, for other designations of Plato as a recluse. See also O. Delouis, 'Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite est-il de Théodore?', *REB*, 66 (2008), 173–90 and 'Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite. Edition critique et traduction', *REB*, 67 (2009), 77–109 for further discussion of this text.

<sup>17</sup> See *JohnTest*. There is considerable controversy about this text, however, as we are dependent on nineteenth-century copies of a late medieval version of the *Life*. It should therefore be treated with caution; our thanks to Jonathan Shepard for guidance on this point. There is also a case for seeing St Ioannikios, a ninth-century saint from Mt Olympos, as a recluse *hegoumenos*. For even though there was a named *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of Agauroi, Eustratios, no serious decisions were ever made without consulting Ioannikios who lived as a hermit nearby. Perhaps this was also, in reality, a double hegoumenate. See *Life of St Ioannikios*, Introduction and Translation by D.F. Sullivan in A.-M. Talbot (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, vol. 2, Washington, DC, 1998), 243–351.

choice, the coenobitic or the eremitic life.<sup>18</sup> Later, in the thirteenth century, the Cypriot *hegoumenos*, Neophytos 'the Recluse', was to live as a recluse in a cell, known as the *enkleistra*, hewn out of the rock above his monastery and decreed that his designated successor, Isaiah, should also do so.<sup>19</sup>

There are, however, two surviving examples of recluse *hegoumenoi* near to the date of the foundation of the Evergetis and the revision of its *Hypotyposis* by Timothy. The first comes from the Monastery of Philotheos at Anaplous, on the European shore of the Bosphoros. It was founded in the first half of the eleventh century, possibly around 1035 and its two founders, John and Philotheos, are mentioned in Niketas Stethatos' *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*.<sup>20</sup> One of them, Philotheos, is reported in this text to have wished to be and, indeed, probably to have become, a recluse in his foundation, while John, a eunuch, acted as *oikonomos*.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the eleventh century, another would-be recluse *hegoumenos*, possibly of this same monastery, is mentioned somewhat disparagingly in a letter written by Theophylact of Ochrid to his (as yet unconfined) successor, Symeon.<sup>22</sup> The house continued to have a double hegoumenate at least until the mid-twelfth century, when it was satirised in the poetry of Theodore Prodromos, who refers to the senior *hegoumenos* as *enkleistos*.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For the *Life of St Paul of Latros*, H. Delehay, *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica*, in Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, 105–53, see chs 13; 17 and *PaulTest*. For the archaeological excavation of the Stylos monastery, showing the location of Paul's 'column', see Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, 68–72, including plan of the site.

<sup>19</sup> See *NeophytosTest*. This was a revision made in 1214 of an earlier *Testament* of 1159. See also C. Galataridou, *The Making of a Saint. The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 14–18 for Neophytos' *enkleistra*.

<sup>20</sup> Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, p. 494. See M. Angold, 'Monastic Satire and the Evergetine monastic Tradition in the twelfth Century', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 86–102, pp. 89–91. Niketas Stethatos, *Un grand mystique byzantine. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (942–1022)*, ed. and trans. I. Hausherr and G. Horn (OC, 12, Rome, 1928), pp. 51–5; 214–21.

<sup>21</sup> Niketas Stethatos, *Vie de Syméon*, ch. 145, p. 214 (215 in Fr. trans.).

<sup>22</sup> Theophylact of Ochrid, *Letters*, in *Theophylacti Achridensis orationes, tractatus, carmina; epistulae*, ed. and Fr. trans. P. Gautier (CFHB 16/1–2, Thessalonike, 1980; 1986), 16/2, no. 37, see M.E. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997), G. 37, p. 307 and for discussion, p. 143. Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 46, n. 42, however, considered that the letter was, in fact, written to the *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of St Michael at Anaplous; the heading 'To the *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of Anaplous, kyr Symeon' does not help to clarify matters. This letter may date to after the Synod of Blachernai (1094), which was attended by the recluse *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of Philotheos, see Gautier, 'Synode des Blachernes', p. 279.

<sup>23</sup> Angold, 'Monastic Satire', p. 90, n. 12.



The second example is that of St Lazaros of Galesion, who died in 1053 and whose *Life*, by George the Cellarer, was written between c. 1058 and c. 1075. Not only was Lazaros an almost exact contemporary of Paul of Evergetis (d. 1054) but he also came to be commemorated in the latter's foundation. Nancy Ševčenko has pointed out that Lazaros is the only saint whose memorial services (*mnemosyna*) were expressly mentioned in the Evergetis *Synaxarion* and suggests that there was a 'particularly close relationship' between the Evergetis and Galesion monasteries.<sup>24</sup> For when dealing with the services for 7 November, the *Synaxarion* noted that 'the commemorations of saintly Lazaros are also carried out' and proceeded to mention the chanting of *stichera* 'if there are any' in his honour at Vespers and to decree that 'if there is a canon of saintly Lazaros', it should be chanted at *Orthros*.<sup>25</sup> On 17 July, the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis prescribed those services associated with the Commemoration of St Marina and then added a note: 'On the same day the translation of the relic (*leipsanon*) of our saintly father Lazaros of Galesion (look for the service)'.<sup>26</sup> At the time of the composition of Cod. Athen. graec. 788, therefore, it is not certain that the relevant liturgical material for celebrating either St Lazaros' own Feast on 7 November (the date of his death), or that for the commemoration of the translation of his body was fully available at the Evergetis, but the saint himself was clearly known and venerated there. The translation of his body from its first burial place in the Church of the Resurrection on Mount Galesion to a more permanent tomb on the mountain, perhaps a specially built chapel, had taken place on a 17 July at some point in the eleventh century, clearly before the *Synaxarion* was written in the form in which it is now preserved.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> N. Ševčenko, 'Observations on the Calendar of the Evergetis *Synaxarion*' (unpublished paper, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> *EvSynax.* vol. 1, XI.07C; XI.07 V.2; XI.07 O.9.

<sup>26</sup> *EvSynax.* vol. 2, VII.17. Lazaros' first foundation was near an Oratory of St Marina, see Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 242–3.

<sup>27</sup> See *Life of St Lazaros of Mt Galesion. An Eleventh-century Pillar Saint*, trans. R.P.H. Greenfield (Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, vol. 3, Washington, DC, 2000), Introduction, p. 63 and n. 301. The date of the translation of Lazaros' body is indicated by its mention in a *menologion* contained in the Cod. BN Coislin. 199 (a New Testament ms.), which has been dated to the eleventh century, see Greenfield, *Life of St Lazaros*, p. 64, and n. 301, though, as Nancy Ševčenko has noted, it does need to be established that the *menologion* on fols. 13v–20r is actually contemporary with the rest of the ms., see 'Observations on the Calendar of the Evergetis *Synaxarion*'. The saint's head was later translated to Constantinople on 25 October in an unknown year, probably in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, see Greenfield, *Life of St Lazaros*, p. 66 and n. 313. For the establishment of the commemorations of these two separate translations, see Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 246–7.

St Lazaros' later career on Mt Galesion is of relevance to the issue of the double hegoumenate at Evergetis for two reasons. Firstly, it is clear that for many years Lazaros lived as a recluse *hegoumenos* and, secondly, even his devoted biographer was unable to hide the fact that his last years were marred by considerable strife within the monastic community under his direction. The *stylos* (pillar) upon which Lazaros lived for many years in his Monastery of the Resurrection on Mt Galesion in Western Asia Minor was actually within the monastic enclosure and probably abutted the church so that, by means of a small window, Lazaros could take part in the liturgy.<sup>28</sup> This clearly indicates that a 'recluse' *hegoumenos* did not, necessarily, have to live in geographical seclusion from his monks. Rather, Lazaros' way of life indicated a type of personal and spiritual seclusion, in his case one associated with other penitential activity, such as the wearing of rough clothing and 'irons'.<sup>29</sup> In the case of the Evergetis, there is also no suggestion that the recluse *hegoumenos* should live beyond the monastery; we have no hint, however, as to what kind of living accommodation he would have had.

The problems of St Lazaros' last years may, perhaps, help to elucidate what Timothy might have meant by his comment that 'it has been found that it [i.e. having a recluse *hegoumenos*] is not beneficial to the monastery'.<sup>30</sup> Two major issues clearly concerned Lazaros' community: first, the continuing quarrel with the Metropolitan of Ephesos, upon whose land the Monastery of the Resurrection stood, which persuaded many of Lazaros' monks that they would be better off moving to the Monastery at Bessai, another of Lazaros' foundations which had been established on land given to the saint by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos;<sup>31</sup> second, the question of the succession to the hegoumenate. There seemed at Lazaros' death to be no clear successor established (even though the saint's brother, Ignatios, had been made *oikonomos* of a dependent house of Philippikos); indeed, Lazaros had merely declared that a suitable person would emerge, with divine help, after his death.<sup>32</sup> It is also possible that although Lazaros

<sup>28</sup> See *Life of St Lazaros*, chs 109, p. 201; 114, p. 204 and discussion by Greenfield, Introduction, pp. 30–31.

<sup>29</sup> *Life of St Lazaros*, chs 35, pp. 121–2 and nn. 182–3; 252, p. 361 (iron bands enclosing Lazaros' body, possibly in the cross shape, and leather tunic).

<sup>30</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> *Life of St Lazaros*, chs 141, p. 226; 239, p. 339; 245, pp. 346–9; 246–7, pp. 349–55, see Greenfield, Introduction, pp. 35; 56–8. M. Kaplan, 'L'économie des monastères à travers les vies des saints byzantins des XIe–XIIIe siècles', in M. Kaplan (ed.), *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 23, Paris, 2006), 27–41, suggests that the conflict between the Metropolitan of Ephesos and the monasteries of Galesion was essentially a battle over economic resources, see esp. pp. 32–7.

<sup>32</sup> *Life of St Lazaros*, ch. 221, pp. 314–15 and n. 873 for Ignatios; ch. 141, pp. 226–7 for the lack of designated successor.



had been prevailed upon to dictate a *diatyposis* (regulations) for his house, he had actually died without signing it, thus making it invalid.<sup>33</sup> More significantly, perhaps, there were complaints from his monks that Lazaros, on his pillar, could not enforce suitable monastic behaviour and even that he was hiding money there which had been given by the faithful.<sup>34</sup> The life of the recluse *hegoumenos* could thus present practical problems to his community: a reluctance, perhaps, to engage with the legal and economic concerns of the house and a lack of involvement with the day-to-day issues of monastic discipline.<sup>35</sup>

We can have no way of knowing what specific issues at the Evergetis caused Timothy to change his mind about the suitability of the joint hegoumenate, or indeed, the reason he himself abandoned the idea of living as a recluse, although he still permitted his successors to follow that path if they wished. The problems of the Galesiote foundations may well have been known to him since, as we have seen, Lazaros was venerated in the Evergetis probably by the end of the eleventh century and certainly by the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>36</sup> A concern for monastic discipline is clearly evident throughout the *Hypotyposis* and Timothy may have concluded that a recluse *hegoumenos* made its maintenance difficult. But we might additionally suggest that the expansion in the building programme of the Evergetis and the organisation that this would have entailed, as well as the business of welcoming and maintaining contacts with those patrons which the monastery clearly acquired in Timothy's time, made life as a recluse *hegoumenos* impractical. Thus it may well have struck him that a simple 'command structure'

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<sup>33</sup> *Life of St Lazaros*, ch. 250, pp. 359–60 and n. 1043; see also Greenfield, Introduction, pp. 39–40.

<sup>34</sup> *Life of St Lazaros*, chs 143, p. 229; 248, pp. 356–7.

<sup>35</sup> Theodore Prodromos criticised the twelfth-century double hegoumenate in *kyr* Philotheos for being held, scandalously, by a father and son, see Angold, 'Monastic Satire', p. 90, n. 13.

<sup>36</sup> Greenfield suggests that Lazaros did *not* immediately become a major cult figure in Byzantium, (though there are mentions of him in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under 7 and 10 November), a fact he attributes to these unsavoury disputes, see *Life of St Lazaros*, Introduction, p. 63. The evidence from the Evergetis *Synaxarion* would seem to contradict this view. There was frequent contact between Mt Galesion and Constantinople, see *Life of St Lazaros*, *passim* but esp. Introduction, pp. 36–7; 46–7. In addition, members of the Promotenos and Kataphloron families, mentioned in the *Hypotyposis* as patrons of the Evergetis, served as administrative officials in the Thrakesion theme, the region in which Galesion was located, and might therefore also have brought knowledge of Lazaros and his cult to the Evergetis, see Appendix 5: The Patrons Promotenos and Kataphloron. Pentkovskii, 'Evergetidskii monastery', p. 82, goes further, and suggests that both the *Synaxarion* and the *Hypotyposis* were influenced by the monastic practices of Mt Galesion.

was more effective, in this period of growth, expansion and important decision-making, than that of a dual hegoumenate.

## 5. Monastic Officers at the Evergetis

A number of specific monastic offices and the duties of their holders are mentioned in the *Hypotyposis*. Chief among these was the post of *hegoumenos* or *proestos* (abbot) who was both the spiritual and administrative head of a monastery, and often, as in the case of the Evergetis, also its founder. Other holders of *diakoniai* ('offices', 'functions' or 'tasks') such as the *oikonomos*, *ekklēsiarches*, *epistemonarches*, *trapezarios* and *kellarites* are also mentioned and there are also more general references to those performing tasks for the monastic community. It is generally accepted that the ninth-century monastic reformer, Theodore the Stoudite, was responsible for developing the notion of the monastic community as a mystical body, with the superior as the 'head', monastic officers as the 'hands' and 'eyes' and the ordinary monks as the 'feet'. Their responsibilities were discussed in his *Catecheses* and *Epigrams* and punishments for laxity in specific jobs were laid out in *Epitimia* attributed to him.<sup>37</sup> His biographer, Michael the Monk, stated that the establishment of the *diakoniai* was one of the essentials of his reform.<sup>38</sup> These posts were probably first established by Theodore at his family Monastery of Sakkoudion in Bithynia, headed by his uncle Plato, of which he was *hegoumenos* from the autumn of 795.<sup>39</sup> This pyramidal structure was not only intended to lessen the burden on the *hegoumenos*, whose chief task

<sup>37</sup> See J. Leroy, *Studitisches Mönchtum. Spiritualität und Lebensform* (Graz/Vienna/Cologne, 1969), Fr. trans. in F. de Montleau (trans.), *Théodore Stoudite, Les Grandes Catéchèses (Livre I), Les Epigrammes (I–XXIX), précédées d'une étude de Julien Leroy sur le monachisme stoudite* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2002), pp. 39–116. For the ideas of the monastic 'body', see *Catechesis* I.3 and I.5. For a list of the *diakoniai* mentioned by Theodore in his works, see p. 633. See also J. Leroy, 'La réforme stoudite' in *Il monachesimo orientale* (OCA, 153, Rome, 1958), 181–214, pp. 199–200 for references to the monastic 'body'. For *epitimia*, see Theodore of Stoudios, *Poenae monasteriales*, PG, 99, cols 1733–48 and *Monachorum poenae quotidianae*, PG, 99, cols 1748–57. See ODB, vol. 3, p. 1624, however, where the attribution of many anonymous *epitimia* to Church Fathers such as Basil the Great and Theodore of Stoudios is noted. For a special case, see J. Featherstone and M. Holland, 'A Note on Penances Prescribed for Negligent Scribes and Librarians in the Monastery of Stoudios', *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), 258–60.

<sup>38</sup> See *BMFD*, vol. 1, p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> Delouis has suggested that the major part of Book I of Theodore's *Great Catecheses* (including those that mention the *diakoniai*) were concerned not with the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, but with his family foundation of Sakkoudion in Bithynia, see Delouis, *Stoudios*, vol. 1, p. 165.

was seen to be the spiritual welfare of the community, but also to remind his brethren that they were all members of a collective community, each with his role to play.<sup>40</sup> Its emphasis was to be on work; a way of finding God and almost a form of liturgy in itself. By working, monks could aspire to the 'life of the angels' and members of the community were expected to take on specific tasks in the monastic 'village' (baking, cooking, manufacturing of leather, stone or wooden items, copying manuscripts and looking after animals) or to perform general labour alongside their liturgical duties. *Philergia* ('love of work') and *polyergia* ('frequent working') were deemed to be virtues and work and its willing performance were measurements of monastic fervour.<sup>41</sup> This emphasis on the value of work is also found in the *Hypotyposis* of the Evergetis Monastery. Not only the literate could be given *diakoniai*; work was to be carried out cheerfully as a form of love. Those whose work meant that they had to miss the liturgy on occasion were to be joyful, since the Lord had granted them extra strength to serve their brethren.<sup>42</sup> Every monk, even the illiterate, should perform his task as well as he could and those who fulfilled their *diakonia* 'in a careful and devout manner' should be allowed to keep it.<sup>43</sup> A *katechesis* of Paul (source unidentified) emphasises this point:

Especially let those [of us] who have some official function (*diakonia*) be extremely attentive. For as to the others, if ever some slip occurs, the reform is easy [for them] through constant attention to the reading. But for you who are pulled from all sides and are more distracted, there is greater need for security.<sup>44</sup>

A similar structure of officers to that evolved by Theodore the Stoudite is also found at the Evergetis. Although there is no explicit mention of Stoudite customs in the *Hypotyposis*, there is mention of 'other *diakoniai* which the other monasteries usually have' which demonstrates some familiarity with the practices of other houses, possibly including those influenced by Theodore of Stoudios.<sup>45</sup> In addition, Paul, the first founder of the Evergetis, was intimately

<sup>40</sup> C. Frazee, 'St Theodore of Stoudios and Ninth-century Monasticism in Constantinople', *Studia Monastica*, 23 (1981), 27–58, p. 38.

<sup>41</sup> See Leroy, 'Reforme studite', pp. 194–8.

<sup>42</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 33, pp. 198–9.

<sup>43</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 32, p. 198 and 33, p. 198–9.

<sup>44</sup> Trans. Crostini, *Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 244, n. 22.

<sup>45</sup> See ch. 39, p. 207. This is a 'displaced' passage, which should logically follow material at the end of ch. 34 on the appointment of *pronoetai* ('superintendents') to oversee the estates of the monastery. We know that copies of other *typika* were available in the Evergetis, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 39, p. 207, n. 307 and *EvSynax*, vol. 2, III.25 N.8, for those 'from Olympos'. The monastic

familiar with Theodore's *Great Catecheses* and it is in these homilies that the latter makes frequent reference to the officers of his monastic foundations.<sup>46</sup> By the time of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, however, the *deutereuon* ('second-in-command') of the Stoudites had been replaced by the *oikonomos* as the second-ranking official. For in a section concerned with the appointment of officials, it is made clear that the *proestos* should consult 'with those who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline and their spiritual state and way of life' when appointing an *oikonomos*.<sup>47</sup> These advice-giving 'eminent officials', who are also found in Theodore the Stoudite's scheme, probably included not only senior officials such as the *oikonomos* himself, the *ekklesiarches*, the *epistemonarches* and the *skeuophylax* but also the senior priests and perhaps long-serving and revered monks. Thus the office-holders were part of a small advisory group which not only helped to run the monastery, but also played an important part in making monastic appointments, including that of the *oikonomos* and *hegoumenos*.<sup>48</sup> They are also found approving and witnessing any removal of the precious objects or money belonging to the monastery for any necessary purpose.<sup>49</sup>

The *Hypotyposis* does not explicitly name either all the officials whom we can deduce were in the monastery, or all those found in the detailed lists which can be derived from the works of Theodore of Stoudios. Indeed, a telling phrase at the end of Chapter 39, which is not found in any of the later *typika* derived from that of the Evergetis, declares, concerning monastic offices and tasks, that 'I wish people to be appointed to them as occasion demands'.<sup>50</sup> This passage, written after Timothy's revision of the *typikon*, indicates that more officials were to be added, or indeed, had been added to those already mentioned in the earlier parts of the text.<sup>51</sup> In the parts which can be attributed to the two first founders, however, there is direct mention of a number of officials and discussion of their duties: the *hegoumenos* or *proestos* (the use of a specific word being a crucial indicator of

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'region' of 'Olympos' could, if interpreted in a fairly wide sense, have included the Monastery of Sakkoudion, see Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 177–83. See also B. Geyer and J. Lefort (eds), *La Bithynie au moyen âge* (Réalités Byzantines, 9, Paris, 2003), pp. 72–3; 433–5; 448 (for location of Sakkoudion on the ridge of Arganthonios, see Fig. 2, p. 443).

<sup>46</sup> See Leroy, 'Un nouveau témoin'; Crostini, *Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 173 and Crostini Lappin, 'Originality and Dependence', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 178–200.

<sup>47</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 179.

<sup>48</sup> For the appointment of the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos*, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13.

<sup>49</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 19, p. 190. For the Stoudite 'foremost brothers', see *TheodoreTest*, ch. 22, p. 79.

<sup>50</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 39, p. 207.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of this insertion, see Introduction, C. 14: Insertions in the *Hypotyposis*.

whether the passage concerned can be attributed to Paul or Timothy) and the *oikonomos*, *ekklesiarches*, *epistemonarches*, *trapezarios*, *skeuophylax*, *docheiarios* for money and *docheiarios* for linen, *kellarites* and the *metocheiarioi* and *oikonomoi* for estates. There are also indications of the existence of other *diakoniai*, without their holders being specifically named. Thus Chapter Six mentions the ‘monk in charge of the clock’ whose task it was to wake the brethren for the *Mesonyktikon* office (which was said in their cells), and then to sound the *semantron* summoning them to the service of *Orthros*, providing lights both for the assembling monks and for the church itself. He seems thus to have combined the Stoudite offices of the *aphypnistes* (‘waker’) and the *kandelarios* (sacristan).<sup>52</sup> In Chapter 36, there is mention of the *leitourgos ton taphon*, clearly a priest whose duties involved the burial of the dead and looking after the tombs. In the Evergetis *Synaxarion*, he is referred to by his more usual title of *taphiotes*.<sup>53</sup> Chapter 38 sees the mention of a strangers’ hostel (*xenodocheion*) but not of the *xenodocheios* who was in charge of it.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the existence of an infirmary is made clear, with two orderlies to look after sick monks and reference is made to the possibility of a doctor (*iatros*) visiting each day. But there is no mention of any *nosokomos* (infirmarian) in charge.<sup>55</sup> Those without other specifically named tasks are also generally referred to, as in Chapter 21, where those who have gathered ‘on some manual task or another service’ are ordered not to indulge in idle chatter and their ‘superior’ (perhaps their supervisor) is instructed to admonish them if they do.<sup>56</sup>

If the information about officials contained in the *Hypotyposis* is compared with that which can be gleaned from Theodore the Stoudite’s writings, then certain officials are conspicuous by their absence. There is, for instance, no sign of a *bibliothekarios*, although we know that the Evergetis possessed numerous books and, indeed a *bibliothekarios* is mentioned in an Evergetine manuscript firmly dated to April, 1064, thus written during the hegoumenate of Timothy, the second founder.<sup>57</sup> No porter (*thyroros*, *pyloros*, or, more commonly, *ostiaros*) is mentioned, though it is clear that the monastery had a main gate.<sup>58</sup> There is no

<sup>52</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, p. 158 and Leroy, ‘Etude’, p. 100.

<sup>53</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202 and n. 290; *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 O.9b; P.49 N in *Orthros*.

<sup>54</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 38, p. 205 and n. 301.

<sup>55</sup> See Leroy, ‘Etude’, pp. 103–4 for the infirmarian at Stoudios.

<sup>56</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 21, p. 191. Although the word used here is *kreitton* (lit. ‘superior’), the supervisory monk here might be equated with the *epiteretes* (‘supervisor’) found in Theodore the Stoudite’s houses, see Leroy, ‘Etude’, p. 91.

<sup>57</sup> See Crostini, ‘Scriptorium of Evergetis’. For further discussion of the library, books and reading in the Evergetis, see Introduction, B. 9.

<sup>58</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 11, p. 174 and 38, p. 205 and Rodley, ‘Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like’.

reference to a *kanonarchos* to designate readers in church or the leaders of chants, although one is mentioned in the *Synaxarion*.<sup>59</sup> The functions of the Stoudite *taxiarchai*, monks placed in each of the two monastic choirs to maintain discipline and decorum during services, seem, in the Evergetis, to have been undertaken by the *epistemonarches*. But we should be wary of concluding that these offices did not exist at the Evergetis, for knowledge of the Stoudite officials often comes through mention of them in Theodore's *Catecheses* and *Epigrams*, rather than in the legislative documents for Stoudios.<sup>60</sup>

The duties of all the officials mentioned in the *Hypotyposis* are sketched out to some degree – though only those concerned with the performance of the liturgy and the maintenance of discipline are accorded much detail – with the interesting exception of the *begoumenos*. Here the emphasis is rather on the qualities that he should show, rather than his actual duties. Nonetheless, it is quite clear the *begoumenos* had oversight over both the spiritual and the administrative activities of the house. The monks are to be 'watched over, governed and directed' by the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary herself, by the founder, Paul and by the 'one acting as *begoumenos*'.<sup>61</sup> The very existence of the *Hypotyposis* confirms the *begoumenos*' power to establish and adjust the regulations of his house. He was at the centre of its liturgical, disciplinary and administrative lives and absolute obedience to him was paramount.<sup>62</sup> In spiritual terms, his most important role was to act as spiritual father to all the monks, to hear their *exagoreuseis* ('disclosure of thoughts') and to give them such admonition or guidance as he thought fit. The *Hypotyposis* urges him to be moderate in his relationship with his spiritual children and to be remiss rather than heartless in imposing punishments.<sup>63</sup> The process of 'disclosure of thoughts' took place twice a day; only if the *begoumenos* were to be absent would he delegate the task to other priests and deacons.<sup>64</sup> Depending on the spiritual state of each monk, the *begoumenos* granted (and presumably, on occasion, withheld) permission for him to receive communion.<sup>65</sup> The *begoumenos* also made day-to-day disciplinary decisions. He authorised the granting of food and drink in the refectory to anyone who might be in need,

<sup>59</sup> *Ev.Synax*, vol. 2, APP. 8; APP. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Theodore's *Testament* (see n. 16, above) only specifically mentions 'stewards and cellarers' who are to take charge of money and 'other necessities'. The 'A' and 'B' versions of his *Rule* only mention offices concerned with the proper performance of the liturgy and with discipline. The duties of the *begoumenos*, *oikonomos* and *docheiarios* are not mentioned, see *TheodoreRule*.

<sup>61</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 12, p. 175.

<sup>62</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 16, p. 186.

<sup>63</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 17, p. 187.

<sup>64</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 7, pp. 160–61 and 15, pp. 184–5.

<sup>65</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 5, p. 156.



the exchange of old clothing for new and the taking of extra baths. He could sanction specific monks to remain alone in their cells and visited every cell each month to confiscate any unauthorised items. It was his responsibility to impose punishments (*epitimia*) for any wrongdoing.<sup>66</sup> In more serious cases, it was the *hegoumenos* who 'excommunicated' a monk and instructed him to leave the monastery.<sup>67</sup>

The *hegoumenos* was also the administrative head of the Evergetis and, as such, played a role in ecclesiastical politics in the world beyond the walls of the house. The *Hypotyposis* envisaged that he might be summoned by the patriarch or the emperor; in these circumstances it was permissible for him to spend a night away from the monastery.<sup>68</sup> He was also very largely responsible for appointing his own subordinates, even though, as we have seen, he was to consult with the 'eminent officials', particularly about the appointment of the *oikonomos* who would eventually succeed him in the hegoumenate. A good *hegoumenos*, as envisaged by the *Hypotyposis*, would carefully guard the possessions of the monastery and not treat them as his own personal property. He was required to countersign in the *brebion* (list of possessions) any legitimate removal of a precious object belonging to the house in time of emergency and, in general, to manage the wealth of the monastery wisely.<sup>69</sup> It is interesting, however, that the *Hypotyposis* (in a passage that can be attributed to Paul) does give some thought to the problem of an unworthy *hegoumenos*. Though not specific about the process by which this should be done, there are clear instructions that such a man should be removed by the unanimous wish of the monks and either be granted the honorific title of the 'second rank', or be allowed by his successor to leave the monastery altogether.<sup>70</sup>

The rest of the monastic officials were variously concerned with the administration of the monastery's wealth, the performance of the liturgy, the maintenance of discipline and the day-to-day running of the house. The *oikonomos*, second in rank to the *hegoumenos*, is also an official about whose

<sup>66</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 9, p. 167; 25, p. 194; 24, p. 194; 27, p. 195; 28, p. 196. For *epitimia* see, for example, ch. 9, p. 166, where one who is troublesome in the refectory is to be deprived of food and those who are late without good reason are reported by the *trapezarios* to the *hegoumenos*, who then gives them a certain number of genuflections to perform.

<sup>67</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, p. 167, where one who is 'incorrigible' in his complaints about seating in the refectory is to be 'driven out of the monastery'.

<sup>68</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

<sup>69</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 18, p. 188 and 19, p. 190.

<sup>70</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, pp. 182–3. Unanimity of the monastic body was to be paramount. Even an unsatisfactory *hegoumenos* should remain if his removal would cause strife within the community.

precise duties the *Hypotyposis* is somewhat reticent. Concern is certainly shown that a suitable person should be appointed to this office, not least because he was very likely to become the next *hegoumenos*, and there is a description of the ceremony by which he was invested with his office.<sup>71</sup> But information about his duties has to be gleaned indirectly. As we have seen, he was to be present with the other leading officials when any property or possession of the Evergetis was sold or transferred at a moment of crisis.<sup>72</sup> In addition, Chapter 14 deals with the reasons for the removal of an unsatisfactory *oikonomos*: ‘carelessness’ or ‘indifference’; appropriation for himself of property belonging to the monastery; favouritism towards relatives and ‘unreasonable attachments’ within the house. The *oikonomos* was thus concerned with the management of the monastery’s possessions – landed properties, buildings, animals and objects of all descriptions as well as cash. He had direct dealings with the laity as well as holding a position of great influence within the house itself. Chapter 33 also mentions lesser *oikonomoi*: those responsible for the management of the monastery’s estates, probably under the orders of the *metocheiarioi* or *pronoetai*.<sup>73</sup>

Other ‘administrative officials’ in the Evergetis included the *docheiarioi* in charge of the monetary income and expenditure of the monastery, in charge of its treasures (also known as the *skeuophylax*) and in charge of the distribution of clothing, footwear and, possibly, bedding.<sup>74</sup> The *docheiarios* in charge of money was clearly both literate and numerate; the *Hypotyposis* instructs him to keep a careful written note of all income and expenditure.<sup>75</sup> It is very likely that he would have been present if any money or valuable item had to be sold or disposed of in order to amend the *brebion* (inventory). A separate list (*praktikon*), to be kept in the *skeuophylakion*, of any treasures that had been removed was also to be drawn up, presumably by the *skeuophylax* himself.<sup>76</sup> The *Hypotyposis* has relatively little to say about the precise duties of these administrative officials. Given that

<sup>71</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 13, pp. 179–81; 14, p. 182 and 29, p. 196.

<sup>72</sup> See p. 46 and n. 69, above.

<sup>73</sup> There is no sign in the Evergetis of the *pairoikonomos* or assistant to the *oikonomos* found in the Stoudite system, see Leroy, ‘Etude’, p. 83. *Metochion* is the usual term for an outpost of the main monastic house, or a foundation which has been subjected to it.

<sup>74</sup> See chs 20 (where the *docheiarios* for money is not mentioned by name in the text, but only in the chapter title) and 30, pp. 190–91, and 197, where the three *docheiarioi* are all mentioned in the body of the text. The fact that the *Hypotyposis* mentions only one monastic ‘till’ dealing with both receipts and outgoings and that there is no mention of a monetary ‘reserve’, has implications both for the date of the document and for the nature of the economy of the Evergetis. See J. Lefort and K. Smyrlis, ‘La gestion du numéraire dans les monastères byzantins’, *Revue numismatique*, 53 (1998), 187–215. For the economy and estates of the Evergetis, see Introduction, B. 6.

<sup>75</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 20, pp. 190–91.

<sup>76</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 19, p. 190.



more detailed instructions about the management of properties become more common in *typika* from c. 1070 onwards, the bare references in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* may reflect an earlier eleventh-century date, or an older model, or a continuing reticence to mention such technical and wordly matters in a document which regulated a spiritual community.<sup>77</sup>

The duties of the officials concerned with the performance of the liturgy and the maintenance of discipline and decorum, are, in contrast, more precisely dealt with, perhaps reflecting the significance of such matters in the Evergetis. The *ekklesiarches*, ranked third in the monastic hierarchy, was responsible for the orderly conduct of worship within the church. He led the monks in chanting or reciting sections of the service and indicated when they should genuflect or perform other movements. He was also responsible for noting when commemorations were to be heard, a matter which would affect the content of the services on the days concerned.<sup>78</sup> The importance of the office of the *ekklesiarches* thus lay in the fact that he was the liturgical leader of the community. Singing was itself a spiritual exercise; the *Hypotyposis* points out that 'the whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery'.<sup>79</sup> So whilst it reveals little about the more technical matters of the performance of the liturgy at the Evergetis – it is not clear, for instance, whether the monastic body was divided into *ekklesiastikoi* (literate monks who spent most of their time performing the liturgy) and *diakonetai* (monks who spent most of their time in manual labour and waiting upon the 'choir monks') – the *Hypotyposis* clearly emphasises the need for unanimity and order in worship.<sup>80</sup> It was this organisational aspect with which it was chiefly concerned; the detailed, day-to-day order of services was to be found in the *Synaxarion*.

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<sup>77</sup> See K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du Xe-milieu de XIVe siècle)* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 21, Paris, 2006), p. 189.

<sup>78</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 4, p. 152; 6, p. 159 and 36, p. 201.

<sup>79</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, p. 164.

<sup>80</sup> See R. Dubowchik, 'Singing with the Angels: Foundation Documents as Evidence for Musical Life in Monasteries of the Byzantine Empire', *DOP*, 56 (2002), 277–96, see p. 283, n. 27 for the suggestion that there was a division in the Evergetis between choir monks and the rest of the monastic body. Although he does not appear in the *Hypotyposis*, there was a *kanonarchos* (precentor) in the Evergetis who read aloud the names of the canons before they were sung, see Dubowchik, *op.cit.*, p. 287. He appears in two appendices of *EvSynax* where prescriptions regarding his role in regulating the chanting and leading the choirs in their processing are set out, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APPS 8 and 9. For the exhortation to the monks to stay in unison when reciting the sentences accompanying genuflections, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 152.

The theme of discipline and decorum is also evident in the description of the duties of the *epistemonarches* and the *trapezarios*. The *epistemonarches* enforced good behaviour both during and after services and in the refectory. His duties thus overlapped to some degree with those of the *trapezarios* who was also concerned with the eradication of idle chatter in the refectory, but whose duties also included placing visitors at table, reporting absentees and ‘attending to whatever the *kellarites* supplies him with.’<sup>81</sup> The *trapezarios* was thus responsible for the individual distribution of the food and drink sent from the kitchen. Here again the unanimity of the monastic body is emphasised; all are to behave in a manner acceptable both to communal norms and to a received standard of behaviour proper to monks. All are to receive equal rations of food and drink unless they can be identified as being in especial need.<sup>82</sup>

There are few other references to specific *diakoniai* in the *Hypotyposis*. *Kellaritai* (cellarers) in charge of the acquisition and distribution of the food and drink of the house (and its guests) are mentioned, as are bakers, cooks, ‘those looking after mules,’ ‘those sent to the City’ and ‘those going away elsewhere.’<sup>83</sup> It might be suggested that this lack of detail reflects a relatively small-scale institution in the early years of its development. But it would be unsafe to conclude that simply because certain *diakoniai* are not mentioned in the *Hypotyposis* (in the recension that we have), that they were not present in the Evergetis in the years of Timothy’s hegoumenate, if not that of Paul. It may have been so characteristic for monasteries to have these officials that they were hardly deemed worthy of a specific mention and, as we have seen, *typika* were essentially spiritual documents, so that the lack of any detailed discussion of more ‘secular’ administrative posts or professions in the *Hypotyposis*, though frustrating to the historian, should come as little surprise.

## 6. Status and Possessions of the Evergetis

Chapter 12 of the *Hypotyposis* makes it clear that the Evergetis monastery was to be *eleutheron* (free) *autodespoton* (independent) and *idiodespoton* (self-governing).<sup>84</sup> This passage can be attributed to Timothy and thus refers to the

<sup>81</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 31, p. 197.

<sup>82</sup> For the duties of the *epistemonarches*, see *Hypotyposis*, chs 4, 9 and 31; for those of the *trapezarios*, see chs 9 and 31.

<sup>83</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 33, p. 198.

<sup>84</sup> For general discussions of the status of *monasterion autodespoton* and *eleutheron*, see J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 24, Washington, DC, 1987), ch. 8 and, more recently, *BMFD*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50; 195–6; vol. 2, p. 442.

legal situation of the house in the mid-eleventh century, since it makes reference to the confirmation of this status in the 'chrysobulls of the emperors now dead'.<sup>85</sup> But it is quite possible that Paul wished to establish his house as free and independent from the first, since the *Hypotyposis* declares that it was 'set up to be free by those very people who established it'.<sup>86</sup> One of Timothy's main achievements was thus to get this position confirmed by imperial privileges. But what did it imply? According to the *Hypotyposis*, the Evergetis was 'not subject to any rights, be they imperial, ecclesiastic or of a private person' and it should be under the heavenly governance of the Theotokos herself, by 'the prayer of our most blessed father' (a reference to the intercession of the founder Paul, by this time dead) and by that of the *hegoumenos* as their earthly representative. Any attempt to gain control over the monastery and to place it under the power of a third party: emperor, patriarch, cleric, influential layman or even the personal power of the *hegoumenos* or one of the monks was to be resisted.

The 'rights' of 'private persons' probably referred to any claim that Paul's kin might have had to appoint the *hegoumenos* or have a say in the management of the house and its property, as was usual in family foundations. 'Imperial rights' refers to the status of the so-called 'imperial monasteries', founded, financed and controlled by the emperors themselves.<sup>87</sup> By 'ecclesiastical rights' was meant the theoretical jurisdiction, or, at least, the moral oversight, held by the bishop in whose diocese the monastery was situated, or, in the case of a so-called 'patriarchal monastery', by the Patriarch himself. In 861, the Council of Constantinople had required monasteries and their property to be registered and for them to be subordinate to local bishops, but there is no sign of adherence to this legislation in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*.<sup>88</sup> Quite the opposite: the appointment of a *hegoumenos* was to be a matter for the community; the management of its property was similarly a concern of the monks alone.

A hint that this 'independent' status had to be both especially acquired and carefully protected is evident in the mention of the imperial chrysobulls for the Evergetis. As early as 964, Nikephoros II Phokas had granted a chrysobull to St Athanasios of the Great Lavra on Mt Athos which decreed that after Athanasios' death his first successor should be the monk he himself had designated, but after the emperor's own demise, the monks of the Lavra should choose their own

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<sup>85</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 12, p. 176, n. 153, for a discussion of the possible emperors concerned. It was common practice for all imperial privileges to be renewed, if possible, at every change of emperor.

<sup>86</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 12, p. 176.

<sup>87</sup> See Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 145–54, for various types of monasteries.

<sup>88</sup> See Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, p. 215.

*hegoumenos*.<sup>89</sup> This is precisely the same pattern as that followed in the Evergetis; Timothy was clearly Paul's nominee, and after him the choice was to be made within the house. The right to nominate a *hegoumenos* was clearly one of the ways in which founders and their kin could continue control over a monastic house; imperial support to bypass these traditional arrangements was clearly of immense value.

The relationship of the Evergetis Monastery with the secular church is obscure. As in many cases of monastic foundations of this period, we know nothing of the process of the consecration of the monastic church and there is no mention of the canonical requirement that all sacred establishments should be regulated by the bishops of the diocese concerned and that the *hegoumenos* should receive an episcopal *sphragis*.<sup>90</sup> The information that one of the reasons for which the *hegoumenos* might be allowed to leave the house was 'if an emperor or patriarch happens to summon him' refers more to the status of the *hegoumenos* (whose advice might be sought by patriarch or emperor, or who might, as a leading monastic figure, be expected to attend synods in Constantinople) than to any subordination of the house.<sup>91</sup>

The legal status of a 'private' foundation enjoyed by the Evergetis allowed complete control over its land and possessions to be vested in the hands of the *hegoumenos* and his officials and their careful management was one of the preoccupations of the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>92</sup> The landed property was to be inalienable, and the books, icons, holy vessels and precious cloths were to be removed – and presumably sold – only in the most dire emergency.<sup>93</sup> All the property, movable and immovable, was listed in the *brebion* (inventory).<sup>94</sup> We know very little,

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<sup>89</sup> See *BMFD*, vol. 1, pp. 195–6.

<sup>90</sup> See Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 149–50. The *Typikon* of Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza, for the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa (1085–1106) is a rare example from this period of a foundation document which mentions the need for the blessing (*sphragis*, literally 'seal' but more likely 'seal of approval') of the local bishop for the newly selected *hegoumenos*, but even here, if the bishop casts covetous eyes on the monastery, the *typikon* provides for the *sphragis* to be provided by the existing superior to his designated successor. See *Eleousa Rule*, ch. 16, p. 185.

<sup>91</sup> It is interesting that the *hegoumenos* of the Evergetis Monastery does not appear to have been present at the Synod of Blachernai in 1094, see Gautier, 'Synode des Blachernes'.

<sup>92</sup> The *oikonomos*, for example, was to be dismissed if he was found to be 'subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control', see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, p. 182. *Hegoumenoi* were abjured not to use the wealth of the monastery to make unsuitable payments, or to 'bring about changes' in the affairs and property of the monastery, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 18, p. 188. The monks are again exhorted to protect the monastery's possessions in *Hypotyposis*, ch. 42, p. 209.

<sup>93</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 19, p. 189.

<sup>94</sup> For the existence of the *brebion*, see *Hypotyposis*, chs 3, p. 151 and n. 20; 19, p. 190.

however, about the estates of the Evergetis.<sup>95</sup> The earliest foundation was made on a property inherited by Paul from his parents but was apparently still 'poor' at his death in 1054. In Chapter 34, in a passage which can be attributed to Paul, there is mention of 'some small pieces of immovable property'.<sup>96</sup> By the second half of the eleventh century, however, even if one treats with some caution the claim that it had become 'grandiose' under Timothy, it had clearly expanded from its original site. The *Hypotyposis* specifically mentions the building of a church dedicated to the Theotokos Evergetis, the construction of cells, a storehouse, a bath, acquisition of books and sacred vessels and, 'in addition, the landed property ... to support the monastery', all developments which seem to have taken place under Timothy.<sup>97</sup> A *xenodocheion* or hostel for strangers was also built on donated land near enough to the monastery for the monks to look after those who stayed in it.<sup>98</sup> The *begoumenos*, though generally to be confined to the monastery, was allowed to visit 'the area surrounding the monastery and our estates close to it' though since he was to return to sleep in the house, these must have been within a half-day's ride.<sup>99</sup>

By the end of the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth, the Evergetis possessed lands much further afield. The monk *kyr* Anthony is particularly mentioned as having made 'many contributions' to the monastery, including the planting of a vineyard near enough to the monastery to provide it with wine during Lent. But he was also responsible for obtaining *exkousseia* (exemption from taxation and/or the performance of state *corvées*) for some *paroikoi* (dependent peasants) on its properties in the Boleron theme (Eastern Macedonia) and at Chortokopion (possibly in Thrace), which may well have previously belonged to him. But he was not the only donor; the gifts (almost certainly including land) of members of the Promotenos and Kataphloron families (or men like them) are also specifically mentioned.<sup>100</sup> The more distant properties were managed by resident monastic officers, the *metocheiarioi* and the

<sup>95</sup> See Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins*, pp. 43–5 for Evergetis.

<sup>96</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 34, p. 200. The use of the word *proestos* rather than *begoumenos* is associated with Paul's regulations, see Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>97</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 3, pp. 150–51; 25, p. 194; 28, p. 195.

<sup>98</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 38, p. 205. The identity of the 'pious Christian' who gave the land is not revealed.

<sup>99</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 178.

<sup>100</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, appendix to ch. 43, p. 212 for *kyr* Anthony and for a discussion of his identity, Appendix 4. For the location of the estates, see appendix to ch. 43, n. 343. For commemorations in memory of the donors 'Promotenos', 'Kataphloron' and other patrons, see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202, and Appendix 5.

*pronoetai*.<sup>101</sup> Apart from the brief mention of the *exkousseia*, however, we know nothing of the fiscal status of the Evergetis lands.

Not surprisingly, the liturgical *Synaxarion* has more to say about the valuable objects possessed by the Evergetis and their use in the various services it describes. But the *Hypotyposis* does make specific mention of censers, icons, cloths and books and these (with the possible exception of the books) were to be kept in the *skeuophylakion* (treasury).<sup>102</sup> The monetary wealth of the monastery, acquired from the donations of pious laity, the voluntary *apotage* or *prosenexis* (gift or offering) of anyone entering the house and – though nothing is explicitly said of it – the profits of sales of monastic produce, was under the care of a *docheiarios*, who had to make a written account of income and expenditure.<sup>103</sup> All the evidence suggests therefore that, by 1100, the Evergetis was a flourishing house, with extensive buildings, estates over a wide area, a profitable economy, legal independence protected by imperial chrysobulls and a prosperous and powerful group of lay patrons.

## 7. Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis

In Chapters Four, Five, Six and Eight the *Hypotyposis* gives general instructions for the various services and offices to be carried out by the monks in the *katholikon* and privately in their cells. Emphasis is placed in them on the behaviour and attitude of the individual monk and reference to the *Synaxarion* for the details of the services is advocated.

<sup>101</sup> For these officials, see Introduction, B. 5: Monastic Officers at the Evergetis. See M. Kaplan, 'The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and the Management of Monastic Estates in the Eleventh Century', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 103–23.

<sup>102</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 30, p. 197 and Introduction, B. 5, for the office of *skeuophylax*. ch. 19, p. 190 notes the procedure for the removal of any of the sacred objects; a list (*praktikon*) of those removed was to be placed in the *skeuophylakion*. For censers, see ch. 6, p. 159; for books, see ch. 3 and Introduction, B. 9: Reading and Books at the Evergetis; for icons and cloths, see chs 3, p. 151; 19, p. 189. It is not clear where the books were kept; since we know there was a scriptorium in the Evergetis by the mid-eleventh century, they could, perhaps, have been kept there, though valuable items were probably stored in the *skeuophylakion*. See *EvSynax*, vol. 3, General Index, pp. 209–22 for mentions of censers, cloths, icons, etc.

<sup>103</sup> For the *docheiarios* of the money, see Introduction, B. 5. For the *apotage* and the *prosenexis* see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 37, p. 204 and n. 300.

*The Liturgical Year*

For the Orthodox Church the liturgical year begins on 1 September and the beginning of the indiction<sup>104</sup> was commemorated at Evergetis along with Symeon the Stylite and the Forty Holy Women. This neatly illustrates how the liturgical year and the civil year went hand in hand. However, two different liturgical cycles operate over the year: a monthly one which is fixed, setting out the feast or commemoration(s) for each day of every month from 1 September to 31 August, and a movable one that covers the period of Lent and the eight weeks after Easter Sunday.

The Evergetis *Synaxarion* also reflects these two cycles in that it is divided into two sections: the first one sets out the prescriptions for the services taking place each day of the year month by month, and the second those taking place during the periods of Lent and Easter. Where the two cycles overlap the prescriptions for the days of Lent and Easter have to be combined with those for the days on which they fall from whatever month of the fixed cycle. This makes that portion of the liturgical year very complicated at times and the most troublesome day for the *ekklesiarches* at Evergetis was 25 March when the important feast of the Annunciation clashed with some day of Lent or Easter.<sup>105</sup> The Fast of Lent begins on Monday of the sixth week before Palm Sunday. The Saturdays and Sundays of those weeks are not treated as fast days, so, in order to make the days of Lent add up to 40, the following Great and Holy Week was included and some extra days of fasting prior to Lent proper were also added. Two other periods of fasting were observed at Evergetis during the year: (a) the Christmas fast (sometimes called the Fast of St Philip) which begins on 15 November and spans the 40 days before the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord; (b) the Fast of the Holy Apostles, a fast of variable length (between eight days and six weeks depending on the date of Easter) which begins on the day after the Sunday of All Saints and continues until the Feast of the apostles Peter and Paul on 29 June.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> For the indiction and Byzantine methods of dating see *ODB*, vol. 1, *s.v.* Chronology, pp. 448–9.

<sup>105</sup> 25 March can fall anywhere from the second week of Lent to the middle of Easter Week. In the fourteenth century, the prescriptions for the Easter period were separated from those for Lent and since that time have been set out in a separate book entitled the *Pentekostarion*.

<sup>106</sup> There is no mention in the Evergetis *Synaxarion* of the two-week fast before the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos (15 August) which began to be observed in the tenth century.



## Time

The period of day and night in Byzantine monasteries was divided into 24 'hours' which were regulated by the sun. Since the amount of sunlight is not constant throughout the year, the number and length of these 'hours' of day and night increased or decreased slightly month by month

Hours of Day					Hours of Night			
	number	begin	end	length	number	begin	end	length
Sept	12	06.00	18.00	60 min	12	18.00	06.00	60 min
Oct	11	06.30	17.30	55 min	13	17.30	06.30	65 min
Nov	10	07.00	17.00	50 min	14	17.00	07.00	70 min
Dec	9	07.30	16.30	45 min	15	16.30	07.30	75 min
Jan	10	07.00	17.00	50 min	14	17.00	07.00	70 min
Feb	11	06.30	17.30	55 min	13	17.30	06.30	65 min
Mar	12	06.00	18.00	60 min	12	18.00	06.00	60 min
Apr	13	05.30	18.30	65 min	11	18.30	05.30	55 min
May	14	05.00	19.00	70 min	10	19.00	05.00	50 min
June	15	04.30	19.30	75 min	9	19.30	04.30	45 min
July	14	05.00	19.00	70 min	10	19.00	05.00	50 min
Aug	13	05.30	18.30	65 min	11	18.30	05.30	55 min

Chart after John Klentos.<sup>107</sup>

## The Liturgical Day

The liturgical day technically begins at sunset with Vespers which at Evergetis was combined with the service of *Pannychis* in non-Lenten periods; then the monks went to the *trapeza* for a meal after which *Apodeipnon* was said privately in the cells at about the tenth hour of the day. The monks then slept until the seventh hour of the night, when the *ekklesiarches* went to the cell of the *proestos*,

<sup>107</sup> J. E. Klentos, *Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (codex Athens Ethnike Bibliothekhe 788)* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1995), p. 96.

prostrated himself and received a blessing. He then wakened his assistants who woke the brothers and distributed lights for them to get up and carry out the private office of *Mesonyktikon* in their cells. The *ekklesiarches* presumably went into the *katholikon* to prepare for the service of *Orthros*.<sup>108</sup> At the eighth hour of the night, the *semantron* was sounded calling the monks from their cells to the *katholikon*. Immediately after *Orthros*, according to the *Synaxarion*, the minor office of the First Hour was recited privately in the cells in the non-fasting periods, as were the other minor offices – the Third Hour, the Sixth Hour and the Ninth Hour – with the *semantron* being sounded at the appropriate time for each.<sup>109</sup> The minor office of the Sixth Hour was followed on most days of the year by a celebration of the Divine Liturgy and then the monks received their first meal of the day. The *semantron* summoned the monks from their tasks to carry out the Ninth Hour in their cells and this was immediately followed by Vespers as a new liturgical day began. Each Saturday evening, as a prelude to the service of *Orthros*, an *Agrypnia*, or Vigil, took place.<sup>110</sup> This meant that the monks were denied the normal period of sleep. At the end of *Apodeipnon* they went to their cells where they were excused the normal final office of private devotions and rested until the *semantron* summoned them to the *katholikon* for *Pannychis* which led almost directly into *Orthros*.

During the three periods of fasting, especially that of Great Lent, this routine was modified in a number of ways: (1) the minor offices of the Hours were

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<sup>108</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, p. 158 assigns the initial duty of waking the community for worship to the monk in charge of the clock, whereas the *Synaxarion* states that it was the duty of the *ekklesiarches* to go to the *proestos*; see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.59 O. The *Synaxarion* probably sets out a later procedure since the fact that he has assistants suggests that the monastery was by then a larger establishment.

<sup>109</sup> On private or communal recitation of these offices see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 152 and compare *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1, N.2. There is a difference between what is set down in the *Hypotyposis* concerning the First Hour and the detailed practice outlined in the *Synaxarion*. In the *Hypotyposis* it is clear that the minor office of the First Hour was always to be carried out immediately after *Orthros* in the *katholikon* with the obligatory *katechesis* read by the *proestos*. However, according to the *Synaxarion* all the minor offices, including the First Hour, were to be carried out during the non-fasting periods privately in the cells. This change, which affected the daily delivering of the *katechesis* by the *proestos* also, must have been made by one of Timothy's successors and could be construed as a diminution, to some extent at least, of Paul's view of the monastic life and a lessening of his continuing influence on the way of life in the monastery. On this see also Introduction, A. 1: The Evergetis Dossier and nn. 22–24.

<sup>110</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 8, pp. 163–4. An *Agrypnia* also took place on important feast days such as those of Our Lord or of the Theotokos; see *EvSynax*, vol. 3, General Index, p. 210.

carried out communally in the *katholikon*;<sup>111</sup> (2) the Divine Liturgy was often omitted and either the short service of *Typika* was added to the Ninth Hour or a service of the Presanctified Gifts was attached to Vespers; (3) the first meal was omitted. During the three fasts a *katechesis* was delivered during the First Hour by the *proestos* or, if he happened to be absent, by the *oikonomos*, or if both were absent, by the *ekklesiarches*.<sup>112</sup> This also took place on those days when an *Agrypnia* was carried out.

A further addition to this liturgical routine was the carrying out of the Interhours, private devotions in the cells between the minor offices of the Hours. Unfortunately the *Synaxarion* only gives a fleeting reference to the Interhours so, although we know that they were a feature of life at Evergetis, we do not know what they entailed. This cycle of liturgical practices sets the framework for life at the Evergetis monastery. Practical tasks, such as the preparation of food, baking, cooking, gardening, repairs to buildings, copying of manuscripts, and so on, had to fit into whatever time was left. This was largely after the First Hour until the Sixth Hour and was punctuated by pauses for the Interhours and the carrying out of the Third Hour.

### *Feasts and Commemorations*

In the Orthodox tradition every day of the year is either a specific feast day of Our Lord or of the Theotokos, or is marked by the commemoration of one or more saints, and this affects the choice of the various elements making up the services every day. In addition, each day of the week of itself commemorates some event or some person(s). Sunday commemorates the resurrection of Our Lord, Monday, the Incorporeal Ones, Tuesday, the Prodromos (St John the Baptist), Wednesday, the Theotokos, Thursday, the Holy Apostles, Friday, the Theotokos and Saturday, those who have died. Also, every Wednesday and Friday commemorate the passion of Our Lord and so are fast days.

During the year there are seven feasts of Our Lord and five of the Theotokos. Each of these feasts was preceded by a number of designated forefeast days, anything from one to five in the case of the Nativity of Our Lord. On the day immediately after a feast a *synaxis* (an assembly for worship) was held to commemorate one or more of the figures closely connected to the feast. For example, on the day after the Feast of the Nativity of the Theotokos a *synaxis* for Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Theotokos, was held, and on 7 January, the

<sup>111</sup> On the First Hour see n. 109 above. For prescriptions of the services of the Hours during the fasts see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.15; vol. 2, T.07; P.58.

<sup>112</sup> On the *katechesis* see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 153 and n. 30 and Introduction, A. 1 on The *Katechetikon*.

day after the Feast of Lights, a *synaxis* was held for St John the Prodromos. Then there may be anything up to eight days of afterfeast. During the various services on forefeast and afterfeast days elements of the services used on the feast day itself were used. As outlined above, at Evergetis three periods of fasting took place: before the Nativity of Our Lord starting on 15 November, a 40-day fast before Easter Sunday (Lent) and a fast of variable length before the commemoration of the apostles Peter and Paul on 29 June.

### Feast Days of Our Lord

14 September	The Exaltation of the Cross
25 December	The Nativity of Our Lord
6 January	The Feast of Lights
Sunday before Easter	Palm Sunday
40 days after Easter	The Ascension of Our Lord
50 days after Easter	Pentecost
6 August	The Transfiguration of Our Lord

### Feast Days of the Theotokos

8 September	The Nativity of the Theotokos
21 November	The Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple
2 February	The Meeting of Our Lord <sup>a</sup>
25 March	The Annunciation
15 August	The Dormition of the Theotokos

Note: <sup>a</sup> Sometimes considered a feast of Our Lord.

All this meant that the services each day varied according to the person or the event that was being commemorated and brought about the distinction between 'ordinary' and 'proper' elements within each service. The 'ordinary' elements are those which were constantly carried out, not changing with differing commemorations or feast days. The 'proper' elements are those inserted at specific places in the services in celebration of the saint, martyr or feast day. At Evergetis there were also degrees of celebration, the most elaborate being reserved for the feasts of Our Lord and of the Theotokos. But even among those whom we might term as saints or holy ones, some, such as the Archangel Michael, St John the Prodromos, St Peter and St Paul, were accorded greater

commemorations and celebration than others. The celebrations in the *katholikon* were sometimes carried over into the *trapeza*; feast days of Our Lord and of the Theotokos were marked by more luxurious meals, as seen, for example, in the section of Chapter 10 of the *Hypotyposis* concerning the celebration of the Feast of the Annunciation.<sup>113</sup> It is only the 'proprs' for each day that are set out in detail in the *Synaxarion* in the two cycles: the fixed one of the 12 months from September to August and the movable one covering Lent and the post-Easter period. Thus the *ekklesiarches* at Evergetis, whose duty it was to organise the services, had to rely heavily on the *Synaxarion* and almost certainly consulted it on a daily basis. The most difficult part of the liturgical year for him was when the movable cycle overlapped with the fixed monthly one, especially during the Lenten fast and the week immediately after Easter. Special arrangements were made to ensure that the commemorations from the fixed monthly cycle took place even if they fell during Lent or around Easter.<sup>114</sup>

### *Places of Worship*

Apart from the *katholikon* (main church) which was the centre for services in the monastery, other venues are mentioned in the *Synaxarion* as playing subsidiary roles in the annual cycle of communal worship. The Church of the Holy Apostles was used for the preliminary part of the Divine Liturgy on 29 December, the commemoration of the dedication of the monastery.<sup>115</sup> This was possibly the original church of the monastery in the time of Paul, the first founder, before Timothy built a church 'from the very foundations' which then became the *katholikon*. The Church of the Holy Apostles was also used for services on Good Friday and Holy Saturday while the *katholikon* was made ready for *Orthros* on Easter Sunday morning.<sup>116</sup> On Easter Monday near the end of *Orthros* a *lite* or procession with solemn intercessions left the *katholikon* and went to the Oratory of the Saviour and after processing around it returned to the *katholikon* to finish *Orthros*. A similar *lite* took place on the next day, only this time it went to the Oratory of the Evergetis.<sup>117</sup> Each Saturday, that is, on each Friday evening, one or two canons were chanted at what is referred to in the *Synaxarion* as 'the tombs' in commemoration of the dead. From the few references to this place we may suppose that what this phrase refers to is a small funerary chapel having quite

<sup>113</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 10, p. 172: 'When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible.'

<sup>114</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 1, I.18 N; vol. 2, T.01 N.1, N.2, N.3.

<sup>115</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 L.

<sup>116</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, T.58, 59.

<sup>117</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, P.02, 03. O.

possibly an ossuary attached to it. It seems to have been situated in a place called in the *Synaxarion* 'the cemetery'.<sup>118</sup> At Evergetis there was a monk, called the *taphiotes*, with responsibility for the care of 'the tombs'.<sup>119</sup>

### *Liturgical Personnel*

The *Synaxarion* gives us some insight into who was involved in managing and leading the liturgical routine of the monastery. Each day a priest was detailed to be on duty. This suggests that at the time that the *Synaxarion* which we have was being operated there were a number of monks who were priests. This is confirmed by the occasional reference to additional priests taking some part in certain important services. On one occasion in the year we are told that a special duty fell to the *protopapas*, the senior priest in the monastery; this was to read the Easter gospel at the Divine Liturgy.<sup>120</sup> From time to time the priest on duty is described as being accompanied by a deacon (*diakonos*). The services were chanted by two choirs who stood to the right and the left in front of the holy doors leading into the sanctuary, but we have no information about the size of these choirs. From time to time the *Synaxarion* specifies that a *troparion* is to be chanted first by the *psaltes* (cantor) and then by the people. A cantor took on any solo roles that occurred, but there is no written evidence that there was more than one cantor at Evergetis. However, common sense suggests that when the Evergetis monastery had become popular in Timothy's time and presumably had a good number of monks, the *kanonarchos*, who was responsible for the chanting in the services, would have made sure that there were at least two members of the choirs who could act as cantors, apart, of course, from himself. The services and the general oversight of the *katholikon* and the other places of worship were the responsibility of the *ekklesiarches* who had at least two assistants according to the *Synaxarion*.<sup>121</sup> He was responsible for having the monks roused from sleep during the latter part of the night to begin *Orthros*. He began this by going to the cell of the *proestos* where he received a blessing and then ensured that his assistants went round the cells to rouse the monks and give them lights. The *ekklesiarches* then went to the *katholikon* to get it ready for the beginning of

<sup>118</sup> G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 3, Paris, 1969), considers that this *kimeterion* was a crypt, see pp. 50, 163.

<sup>119</sup> See especially *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 PN, O.9b; but see also *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202, n. 293.

<sup>120</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 L.2.

<sup>121</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.14 N in *Orthros*; XI.15 Sixth Hour; vol. 2, IV.16 O.9b; T.14 V.5; T.37 *Typika*; T.53 return from *lite*; P.01 preliminaries to *Orthros*; P.49 N in *Orthros*; P.59 preliminaries to *Orthros*.

*Orthros*.<sup>122</sup> The onerous nature of this responsibility waxed and waned during the year depending on the particular day; obviously, days such as 25 March, the Annunciation of the Theotokos, 16 April, the commemorations for Paul and Timothy, the founders of the monastery, and the Holy and Great Week leading to Easter Sunday were particularly onerous.

There is no evidence in the *Synaxarion* as to whether there were specific places in the *katholikon* for any monks who were not in the choirs. Sometimes the monks are described as being drawn up in two lines, on the right and left of a doorway, before processing into the *katholikon*.<sup>123</sup> This suggests that some possibly also stood in the same lines along the walls of the *katholikon*. What is made clear in two references is that the *proestos* stood in the first position on the right-hand side and on days like 14 September, the Feast of the Veneration of the Cross, he was the first to venerate the relic after the officiating priest and deacon.<sup>124</sup> Apart from the *proestos* there is no evidence that other monks with important positions within the monastery, such as the *oikonomos* and the *ekklesiarches*, had specific places inside the *katholikon*. Reference has already been made to the *taphiotes* who was responsible for 'the tombs' and, when necessary, made preparations before any services took place there, such as lighting candles and lamps. The position of the *kanonarchos* in the *katholikon* was probably with one or other of the two choirs. One appendix to the *Synaxarion*<sup>125</sup> outlines his role, not in conducting the chanting of the choir as happens in western cathedrals, but in directing the elaborate ritual of processing to the middle of the *katholikon* and of the bowing and chanting that was to be carried out by the two choirs during the services.

### *Liturgical Books*<sup>126</sup>

A number of books were required to manage the liturgical procedures in the monastery. The most important of these was, of course, the *Synaxarion*, but reference is also made in it to other liturgical books. The most practical of these was the *Oktoechos* where the 'proprs' of the services were set out indicating in which of the eight melodic formulae or 'modes' they would be chanted.<sup>127</sup> There is also a reference in the *Synaxarion* to the monastery's *Kontakarion*,<sup>128</sup> a book

<sup>122</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, P.59 preliminaries to *Orthros*; but see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, p. 158.

<sup>123</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 *Orthros*.

<sup>124</sup> For the position of the *proestos* see *EuSynax*, vol. 1, XII.25 O.9 and vol. 2, P.01 *Orthros*.

<sup>125</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 8.

<sup>126</sup> For reading and books at the Evergetis see Introduction, B. 9; see also Appendix 3.

<sup>127</sup> See, for example, *EuSynax*, vol. 1, IX.01 V.10, O.12; IX.02 V.10, O.5b, O.12.

<sup>128</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 O.9b.



which listed all the *kontakia* (poetic stanzas) that were chanted during *Orthros* and the Divine Liturgy. During the movable cycle the *Synaxarion* refers readers to the *Triodion* as the source for *stichera* (short poetic stanzas), *troparia* (short hymns) and canons to be used during that part of the year.<sup>129</sup> For celebrations of the Divine Liturgy there are regular references to the *Menologion* of the Apostolic Readings and the *Menologion* of the Gospel Readings.<sup>130</sup> During *Orthros*, at the offices of the Hours during the periods of fasting and in the *trapeza*, non-biblical literature was also read, and the monastery evidently had a number of books to supply suitable passages.<sup>131</sup> There were several books, large and small, entitled *Panegyrikon* where, for example, *Homilies* of the Divine Fathers of the Church were to be found. The monastery also possessed a complete set of the *Metaphraseis* of Symeon in which *Lives* of saints and descriptions of the deaths of the most notable martyrs were set out in the necessary order for the liturgical year.<sup>132</sup> The *Synaxarion* also refers to a book entitled the *Paterikon* which contained the sayings of the early Desert Fathers of Egypt and Palestine so beloved of Paul Evergetinos.<sup>133</sup> During Lent at the First Hour and in the *trapeza* *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Klimakos was also read.<sup>134</sup>

### *Semantra*

The liturgical day was regulated by the sounding of *semantra* (oblong metal or wooden gongs). The Monastery of Evergetis possessed a number of these instruments which were used to give the signal for various services, both the communal ones in the *katholikon* and the private ones in cells. Although it is not always entirely clear which one is being described, it is possible to make a number of distinctions between them. Firstly, according to the *Hypotyposis*, there was a bronze *semantron* which was used along with the great *semantron* to summon the monks to the *katholikon* for *Orthros*.<sup>135</sup> The *Synaxarion* does not

<sup>129</sup> See, for example, *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.03 V.2, L.1; T.05 V.10, O.12; T.12 V.2; T.13 V.2.

<sup>130</sup> The *menologia* were the books containing the portions of Scripture prescribed for the Epistle and Gospel readings at celebrations of the Divine Liturgy throughout the year. See for example the instruction for the apostolic reading at *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.01 L.2 'see the thirtieth Sunday' and IX.04 L.2 'see the tenth Saturday of Luke' for the gospel reading; others of this kind appear quite frequently.

<sup>131</sup> For a full list of the non-biblical readings for the whole year as specified in the *Synaxarion* see *EvSynax*, vol. 3, pp. 163–207.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.01 O.5c; IX.03 O.5c.

<sup>133</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, VIII.27 O.5c; VIII.28 O.5c.

<sup>134</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.13 First Hour, T.26 First Hour, T.33 First Hour.

<sup>135</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, p. 158.

mention a bronze *semantron* but the great *semantron* is described as summoning the monks for *Orthros*, *Hesperinon* and the Liturgy.<sup>136</sup> There was also a small service *semantron* which was used to tell the monks when it was the time to carry out the offices of the Hours and to summon them for *Apodeipnon*.<sup>137</sup> If we are to take the word *xylon* (wood) used for this in the *Synaxarion* in its literal sense,<sup>138</sup> then we should assume that this one was made of wood whereas the 'great' one was a metal one. Both documents also refer to a *semantron* by the word *symbolon* ('signal' or 'sign').<sup>139</sup> This might indicate that the *semantron* gave precise signals for which office was being announced, since in one reference the *Synaxarion* suggests that the office of the Third Hour was indicated by three soundings of the *synaxis* (service) *semantron*.<sup>140</sup>

## 8. Fasts, Feasts and Commemorations at the Evergetis

### *Fasts*

The *Hypotyposis* only discussed the non-liturgical details of these aspects of life in the monastery; for specifically liturgical prescriptions it was necessary to consult the monastery's *Synaxarion*. Apart from the services in the *katholikon* or other places of worship, such as chapels or oratories, or even the cemetery,<sup>141</sup> carrying out a fast or celebrating a feast also involved changes to the food and drink at meals in the *trapeza* and to the giving of alms at the monastery gate. These were matters to be included in the administrative document rather than the one which sets out the elements of the services, although some instructions about food, especially sustenance during the periods of severe fasting, do also briefly appear in the *Synaxarion*.<sup>142</sup> There is, however, one location mentioned by both documents in the context of food and drink, namely, the *narthex*. On the

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.15; vol. 2, T.07; T.12; T.45; T.59; P.01; P.02.

<sup>137</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.15; XI.19 N; vol. 2, T.43; P.02.

<sup>138</sup> See, for example, *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.24 Third Hour; vol. 2, III.25 PN; VI.30 N for the Hours; T.58 for *Apodeipnon*.

<sup>139</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 4, p. 155; 6, p. 158; 9, p. 165 and *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.58 Ninth Hour.

<sup>140</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.15 Third Hour.

<sup>141</sup> For chapels or oratories, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 L; vol. 2, T.53 *Lite*; T.58 after the Sixth Hour and Ninth Hour; P.02 *Lite*; P.03 *Lite*; VIII.06 *Lite*; for the cemetery see vol. 2, IV.16 PN, O9b, L; P.21 PN; P.38 N after PN.

<sup>142</sup> For example, chickpea soup, figs and fish are mentioned in the *Synaxarion*, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.2; T.59 after Vespers; III.25 T.8 end of second Vespers.

days of most severe fasting, when there was no meal in the *trapeza*, a *diaklysmos* or collation was taken in the *narthex* of the *katholikon* after the Liturgy.<sup>143</sup>

The first fast dealt with in the *Hypotyposis* (Chapter 10) is the longest, that of Lent, and the movable cycle of worship every year begins with this. At Evergetis, there were gradations of fasting during the period of Lent. The most severe fasting regime of no meals in the *trapeza* was reserved for two days: Monday of the First Week and Holy and Great Saturday, the day before Easter Sunday. The next most severe diet consisting of soaked legumes or boiled beans, raw vegetables and hot water flavoured with cumin was the general dietary regime for this Lenten fast.<sup>144</sup> This diet was followed on Tuesday to Thursday of the First Week and on all subsequent Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (except Friday of the First Week on which the feast of St Theodore fell) and on Good Friday. Otherwise, Tuesdays and Thursdays regularly saw the lightening of the rigour of the weekday fasting by the offering of two cooked dishes, one with olive oil, and a smaller measure of wine. Relief from this harsh regime came on Saturdays and Sundays when important commemorations or feast days that had fallen during the previous week were celebrated. Two dishes cooked with olive oil were allowed and wine in a larger measure. This enabled the weary monks to recover their strength after the reduced diet of the weekdays. On two special days during the fast, Wednesday of the Fourth Week and Thursday of the Great Canon (Thursday of the Fifth Week), the same dietary provision as that for Saturdays and Sundays was allowed. The reason for this seemingly strange modification to what was a regular pattern of fasting is that on both of those days a large extra liturgical celebration was prescribed.<sup>145</sup> Only three feasts could set this general pattern of fasting aside: the Commemoration of the Finding of the Precious Head of the Prodomos, the Feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia and the Feast of the Annunciation.<sup>146</sup> On each of the three days concerned, the commemoration or feast had to be celebrated even if it fell on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday and the normal fast was set aside. During Lent, the eating

<sup>143</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.15; XII.25 S./K.1; vol. 2, T.60 after the Liturgy; P.58 N.2, L.

<sup>144</sup> On the drink of hot water flavoured with cumin see the second part of the appendix after chapter 43 in the *Hypotyposis* (pp. 211–12).

<sup>145</sup> On both days a special extra Vigil was observed (on Vigils see *Hypotyposis* ch. 8, pp. 163–4) and during the Vigil on the second of the two days the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete was chanted. For the Vigil and extra liturgy, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.35; T.42. For the Great Canon of St Andrew see *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London, 1984), pp. 377–415.

<sup>146</sup> The Commemoration of the Finding of the Precious Head of the Prodomos falls on 24 February, that of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia on 9 March and the Feast of the Annunciation on 25 March.

of fish was severely restricted and the monastery was not allowed to procure it except for the Feast of the Annunciation.<sup>147</sup> Otherwise it could only be eaten if some was sent in by devout lay people as refreshment, or if some lay person came to visit the monastery and brought fish with him.<sup>148</sup> The dietary regime during the other two fasts was clearly very much more generous than that during Lent. At the main meal of the day after the celebration of the Liturgy two dishes cooked with olive oil were provided and wine in the large measure. Supper in the evening was simple: just bread and wine.

Apart from changes in the diet outlined in the *Hypotyposis*, the three periods of fasting entailed a change in the way that the short offices of the Hours were carried out. Although in the early years at Evergetis the First Hour, with the *katechesis* 'that should never be omitted', had always been carried out communally, being attached to the end of *Orthros*, the *Synaxarion* indicates that later on all these minor offices were carried out privately in the cells during the non-fasting periods of the year.<sup>149</sup> During the three fasts, however, all the offices of the Hours were carried out communally in the *katholikon*.<sup>150</sup> The *Synaxarion* does not prescribe what elements made up these short services in any clear or coherent manner. There are no prescriptions in the *Synaxarion* for the offices of the Hours during the non-fasting periods either, so we cannot be sure whether these services were in any way different when carried out in private by the monks in their cells from what we know of the services carried out communally in the *katholikon*. However, the *Synaxarion* tells us that starting on the Sunday of Tyrophagos, on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent a *katechesis* of Theodore the Stoudite was read at the end of the First Hour.<sup>151</sup> Whether a *katechesis* of Paul was read on the other days of the week we are not told.

## Feasts

It is clear from the opening of Chapter 11 of the *Hypotyposis* that not all feasts were accorded the same importance. This is evident in the regulations both

<sup>147</sup> The only restriction for this feast was that if it should fall in the Holy and Great Week, shellfish rather than fish were to be eaten. On this and the general rules for the fast see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 10, p. 172.

<sup>148</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 10, pp. 171–2.

<sup>149</sup> On this modification to the regular practice of having a *katechesis* throughout the year as indicated by *Hypotyposis* ch. 4, p. 153 and n. 30, see Introduction, A. 1 on The *Katechetikon* and Introduction B. 7: Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis, with n. 109.

<sup>150</sup> On this see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1. The Interhours, in contrast, were always carried out privately in the cells, even during fasts, on this see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.12.

<sup>151</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.11 First Hour.

for the services in the *katholikon* and the meals in the *trapeza*. As regards 'the singing of psalms', the *Synaxarion*, dealing with the feasts of Our Lord and those of the Theotokos, decrees that a greater number of *troparia* (usually eight) was to be intercalated into Psalm 140 near the beginning of Vespers, and that a gospel reading was to be delivered in *Orthros* which itself ended with a chanting of the great doxology.<sup>152</sup> For all such feasts a Vigil was also carried out; this began in the middle of the night and meant that the monks had less sleep than usual, though they were excused the private devotions in their cells after the service of *Apodeipnon* in order to rest.<sup>153</sup> Apart from the chanting of psalms and canons, prayers, readings, prostrations and other elements of the services, the church was beautified with extra lighting and, quite possibly, the setting out of special icons. The *Hypotyposis* does not go into detail about what extra lamps were lit and where they were put, but other *typika* go to great lengths to specify the special lighting on the great feast days.<sup>154</sup> The most detailed *typikon* in this regard is that for the great imperial female house of the Theotokos Kecharitomene in Constantinople which gives explicit instructions for the hanging of chandeliers and the provision of silver crater lamps, candles, and candelabra. The weights and numbers of the candles are given and the positioning of them is sometimes also specified. In addition, the *hegoumene* of the house was required to acquire rose-essence and incense for the celebration of the greatest feasts.<sup>155</sup> It is most unlikely that the Evergetis was able to provide special lighting on that scale, but the detailed description of the special lighting and perfuming at Kecharitomene indicates the importance laid on beautifying monastery churches on feast days.

The *Hypotyposis* does not describe how the celebration of the great feasts affected the meals in the *trapeza*. But it is surely safe to assume that the food and drink provided for the monks was enhanced in quantity or quality or both, with special dishes reserved for those occasions. The *Hypotyposis* also states that, to mark the Feasts of the Holy Nativity, Easter and the Dormition of the Theotokos, the healthy monks were allowed to have a bath. For those who espoused the ascetic life, always keeping the body in subjection was of prime importance and so bathing as an indulgence for the body was at best severely restricted if not completely forbidden. In the *Hypotyposis*, in a clearly later addition modifying an earlier, stricter rule, bathing was thus allowed as part

<sup>152</sup> In addition to the feasts of Our Lord and of the Theotokos, the *Synaxarion* adds to this group Easter Sunday, The Dedication of the church at Evergetis (29 December) and the Beheading of the Prodromos (29 August).

<sup>153</sup> For information on a Vigil at Evergetis, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1.

<sup>154</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 11, p. 174 and compare with the following: *PakourianosTyp*, ch. 12, p. 536; *KecharitomeneTyp*, chs 66–8, see p. 698; *PantokratorTyp*, chs 6–7, pp. 740–742.

<sup>155</sup> *KecharitomeneTyp*, chs 59–63, pp. 696–7.

of the religious celebration of these three great feasts.<sup>156</sup> The monks gained one further benefit: they were excused from kneeling to pray in their cells during the services of the Hours for a stated number of days after these feasts. Presumably they would have stood to pray during these limited periods.<sup>157</sup> The final mark of a great feast, as at other monasteries, was a special distribution of food and money to the local poor at the gate. Again no detail of how much was to be handed out is given in the *Hypotyposis*, other than the instruction: 'as much as we are able and may your hand be generous'.<sup>158</sup> It was left to the *proestos* and/or the *oikonomos* to decide what the monastery could afford. Since the monastery was dedicated to the Theotokos Evergetis, her feasts were to be especially lavish, with that for the Dormition of the Theotokos to be 'the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals'.

Two other feast days were of slightly less importance: 8 November, the *Synaxis* of the Incorporeal Ones, and 29 June, the commemoration of the wholly blessed apostles Peter and Paul for which a *katechesis* written by Paul has survived. The number of *troparia* specified for Vespers is slightly smaller at six, but during *Orthros* there was a gospel reading and the great doxology was chanted.<sup>159</sup> Remaining feast days and commemorations had six *troparia* at Vespers but all lacked a gospel reading and a great doxology at *Orthros*.

### Commemorations

Not surprisingly, the *Hypotyposis* has little to say about the daily commemorations that gave a focus to the services on each day, since the calendar of commemorations from 1 September to 31 August formed the framework of the monastery's *Synaxarion*. From a comparison of the latter with the traditional Constantinopolitan calendars such as the *Typikon* of the Great Church and the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople it is clear that the commemorations at Evergetis mostly followed the Constantinopolitan pattern.<sup>160</sup> A few dates differ, but at this period not every date had been firmly fixed.

<sup>156</sup> The *Hypotyposis* still retains a short sentence, advocating a policy of no bathing at all; on bathing see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 28, p. 195.

<sup>157</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 155.

<sup>158</sup> For the regular distribution of charity at Evergetis see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 38, p. 205; in contrast, see *KecharitomeneTyp*, ch. 64, p. 698; for special distributions at Evergetis see chs 11, pp. 174–5; 36, p. 202; for the distribution of money at the Monastery of Pakourianos see *PakourianosTyp*, ch. 21, pp. 544–5.

<sup>159</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.08 O.13; vol. 2, VI.29 O.13.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Eglise*, 2 vols (Rome, 1962–3); *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi (Propylaeum ad Acta*

In addition to those commemorated by the whole of the Orthodox Church, all the members of the Evergetis community in its widest sense were also commemorated. This added to the sense of a continuing family such as Paul had in mind when he described them as: 'attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and fitted together into one body under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder'.<sup>161</sup> In the *Hypotyposis* there are instructions regarding the commemoration of three categories of people, the first concerns the founders of the monastery, Paul and Timothy.

The instructions for Paul's commemorations are found within the body of the *Hypotyposis* whereas those regarding Timothy appear in the first part of the appendix to the document.<sup>162</sup> That very distinction strongly suggests that Paul was already dead when the main body of the *Hypotyposis* was redrawn by Timothy and that it was a later *hegoumenos* who added the appendix incorporating the commemoration of Timothy into that for Paul. The *Synaxarion* confirms that the commemoration prescriptions for 16 April were created in two stages.<sup>163</sup> Since the tombs of the two men were in the monastery cemetery, the service of *Pannychis* and the Divine Liturgy were to take place in the cemetery at their tombs.<sup>164</sup> A rather complicated note was added to the prescriptions in the *Synaxarion* regarding the problem of this commemoration falling in the weeks on either side of Easter Sunday or even on any Sunday; it repeats more or less what appears in the second part of the chapter in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>165</sup> That this particular commemoration was considered more important than almost all the rest is indicated by the prescription of a gospel reading during *Orthros*.<sup>166</sup>

The second group listed for commemoration in the *Hypotyposis* were the members of the community itself; these too would have been buried in the monastery cemetery. Chapter 36 provides details of the sequence of commemoration that was to follow the death of a member of the community: a remembrance at each of the main services after his death in the *ekteneis* until the fortieth day when a commemoration for him would take place. During that period an offering was also to be made on his behalf each day at the Divine Liturgy. It was the responsibility of the *ekklesiarches* to make a note of the commemorations

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*sanctorum Novembris*), ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902, repr. Louvain, 1954); for the text of the *Menologion* of Basil II, see PG, 117, cols 20–332.

<sup>161</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 15, p. 185.

<sup>162</sup> For Paul see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 35, p. 200; for Timothy, see the appendix after ch. 43.

<sup>163</sup> For details see Introduction, B. 9, p. 79 and n. 216.

<sup>164</sup> On *Pannychis* see Introduction, B. 7: Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis; and for the commemoration services for Paul and Timothy see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16.

<sup>165</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 35, p. 200.

<sup>166</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 N; for the gospel reading see O.7c.



for each of the brothers who died so that none would be overlooked. The names of deceased brothers were to be inscribed on the *diptychs*.<sup>167</sup> The *Synaxarion* provides a note which confirms much of what appears in the *Hypotyposis* about commemorations for recently deceased brothers but also addresses the problem of such commemorations falling during Lent.<sup>168</sup> However, it was not just in Lent that complications arose. A further paragraph of Chapter 36 addresses the problem of what to do about the required commemorations for a number of brothers who died in the same week.<sup>169</sup> There was a potential conflict between going to the cemetery during *Pannychis* to chant a canon for the dead and remaining in the *katholikon* to chant the intercessory or penitential canon.<sup>170</sup> The solution suggested was either for the community to divide itself and carry out both duties or, if the weather were too harsh or if there was sickness among them, then all the commemorations requiring a canon to be chanted in the cemetery should be carried out at one *Pannychis*, most probably on Friday evening after *Apodeipnon*.<sup>171</sup> The only modification to this arrangement concerns commemorations for a former *hegoumenos*. These were to be given a special pre-eminence and were not to be part of joint commemorations for a number of deceased brothers.<sup>172</sup> These detailed specifications highlight the importance that was attached to honouring the memory of all members of the community. All those carrying out these commemorations could take comfort in the knowledge that they too would not be forgotten and prayers for their souls would be offered when they died.

Besides those who had been tonsured, the notion of an Evergetis 'family' evidently extended to certain people outside the confines of the monastery wall. At the beginning of Chapter 36 there is a reference to 'those who have accomplished something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should be remembered by us'.<sup>173</sup> These were the benefactors who, through their donations or bequests to the monastery, ensured that they would be prayed for. They too counted as members of the community. We should place Promotenos

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<sup>167</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 201.

<sup>168</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.24 N.

<sup>169</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, pp. 201–2.

<sup>170</sup> For examples of canons for the dead and penitential canons, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.14 PN; XI.8 PN; XII.19K.1 PN; XII.26 PN; vol. 2, T.24 AP; T.32 PN; T.35 PN; T.38 AP; T.43 PN; T.45 AP.

<sup>171</sup> Saturday is the day for commemorating those who have died; see the section on weekly commemorations above, p. 57.

<sup>172</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202.

<sup>173</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 201.

and Kataphloron<sup>174</sup> at the head of this group. Since their names appear in the main body of the text of the *Hypotyposis*, it is very likely that they had made benefactions to the monastery during Timothy's time as *hegoumenos*.<sup>175</sup> As with feasts, some commemorations could be accompanied by a distribution of alms to the local poor at the monastery gate. To judge by the way the references to the two named benefactors were incorporated into the text, it is very likely that they had left an endowment to the monastery to provide distributions in their memory. Perhaps the most notable benefactor of the Evergetis was the monk, *kyr* Anthony, whose specific donation (among many others) of a vineyard near the monastery is specifically mentioned in the appendix to the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>176</sup> But since he evidently entered the monastery, he would have been commemorated among the deceased brethren.

Finally, there were those who did not qualify for full commemorations but who, nevertheless, were considered the responsibility of the community: the 'strangers and the sick'. A hospice had been built for the sick and any stranger or sick person who died was to be buried in the burial-place 'set aside for such people'. This burial was not to be a perfunctory act; they were to be given a full burial service.<sup>177</sup> Those laymen who came to the monastery in need of any kind, were considered 'Christ's brethren' and so acts of love and pity towards them ensured that members of the community would themselves receive mercy on the day of judgement.<sup>178</sup>

## 9. Reading and Books at the Evergetis

In one Middle Byzantine monastery, at least, there is evidence that the members of the community were allowed to read books for themselves, as well as having books read to them during the services, during meals and even when they were at work. At the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople on rest days, brothers were encouraged to borrow books from the monastery's 'book station'; their names were registered and they had to return the book just before Vespers. Anyone who was late in returning a book suffered a penalty.<sup>179</sup> At Stoudios, reading was

<sup>174</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202.

<sup>175</sup> On Promotenos and Kataphloron see Appendix 5.

<sup>176</sup> See the appendix to the *Hypotyposis*, p. 212.

<sup>177</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 38, p. 205.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Mat. 25: 31–40 and *Hypotyposis*, ch. 38, p. 205. See also R.H. Jordan, 'Greek Monastic Charity, "to one of the least of these my Brothers"', in D. Stathakopoulos (ed.), *The Kindness of Strangers. Charity in the Pre-modern Mediterranean* (London, 2007), 37–48.

<sup>179</sup> See *TheodoreRule*, ch. 26, p. 108.

clearly something most, if not all the brothers, could do; nevertheless, even in such communities the linguistic level of the book handed out or borrowed must have been carefully chosen. Stoudios was probably untypical in this regard and it is likely that relatively few monks in other communities had the ability to read with ease. There is no reference in either the *Hypotyposis* or the *Synaxarion* to private reading at Evergetis.<sup>180</sup>

So what use, then, was made of the *Synagoge*, the large compilation of Paul the first founder?<sup>181</sup> This manual of the spiritual life, the composition of which must have occupied Paul over many years, expounds the monastic way of life that we find in the *Hypotyposis* and yet there is no mention of it ever being read. Was the early part of it required reading for a recent arrival in the community? Did the *proestos* on occasions, after confession for example, require certain brothers to read particular sections for their spiritual edification? We simply do not know.

### *Communal Reading*

Given that reading at Evergetis seems to have been a communal activity involving everyone as either reader or audience, it is perhaps helpful to set out the pattern of reading to which the monks were subjected on a daily basis. All instances of reading, whether of biblical or non-biblical passages are considered, and like the *Synaxarion* order of services, we begin with Vespers.<sup>182</sup>

### *Vespers*

On feast days during the year two or more Old Testament passages were read. In the week before Easter Sunday from Monday to Saturday a gospel passage was also read after the Old Testament passages; on Thursday, Friday and on the eve of Easter Sunday itself a passage from the apostolic epistles was added between the Old Testament readings and the gospel passage. On the evening of Easter Sunday a gospel reading only took place.

<sup>180</sup> See *BMFD*, vol. 5, General Index, p. 1987 on various aspects of reading in the extant *typika*. See also J. Waring, 'Monastic Reading in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Divine Ascent or Byzantine Fall?', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 400–19; 'Literacies of Lists: Reading Byzantine Monastic Inventories', in C. Holmes and J. Waring (eds), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden, 2002), 165–186 and G. Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance*, (Séminaires Byzantins, 1, Paris, 2006), ch. 10, pp. 103–32.

<sup>181</sup> See also Introduction, A. 1 on the *Synagoge*.

<sup>182</sup> For a list of the main biblical and non-biblical readings prescribed in the *Synaxarion* see *EvSynax*, vol. 3, pp. 163–207; 269–77; 289–95.

### *Pannychis*

In the non-fasting periods of the year this service, despite its name meaning 'all night', was regularly attached to Vespers at Evergetis (cf. the First Hour below).<sup>183</sup> But for Sundays, for the feasts of Our Lord and of the Theotokos, and for some other important days an *Agrypnia* (Vigil) was prescribed; this meant that a *Pannychis* was carried out separately in the evening after *Apodeipnon*.<sup>184</sup> At the end of *Pannychis* a portion from the *Praxapostolos* (a book containing the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles) of about eight pages was read.<sup>185</sup> During an *Agrypnia* at least one other reading took place.

### *Orthros*

(a) After each *kathisma* of psalmody<sup>186</sup> a poetic *kathisma* was chanted and then there was a reading from patristic literature or a passage of hagiography.<sup>187</sup> From shortly after Easter Sunday until 13 September one *kathisma* of psalmody, one poetic *kathisma* and one reading took place; from 14 September to the beginning of Lent two *kathismata* of psalmody, two poetic *kathismata* and two readings took place; during Lent and on great feast days throughout the year there could have been three *kathismata* of psalmody, three poetic *kathismata* and three readings. (b) On Sundays and fifteen important feast days a gospel passage was also read.<sup>188</sup> (c) The chanting of the canon was divided into three sections: Odes 1 and 3,<sup>189</sup> Odes 4–6 and Odes 7–9. After the first section a poetic *kathisma* was

<sup>183</sup> On *Pannychis* with Vespers see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1, p. 713.

<sup>184</sup> *Hypotyposis* ch. 8, pp. 163–4 and *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1, p. 707.

<sup>185</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1. For the *Praxapostolos* see also Appendix 3.

<sup>186</sup> The 150 psalms of the Psalter are divided up into twenty *kathismata*; one, two or three *kathismata* were chanted in their set order during *Orthros* each day. The individual *kathismata* are made up as follows: *Kath.* 1: Pss 1–8; *Kath.* 2: Pss 9–16; *Kath.* 3: Pss 17–23; *Kath.* 4: Pss 24–31; *Kath.* 5: Pss 32–36; *Kath.* 6: Pss 37–45; *Kath.* 7: Pss 46–54; *Kath.* 8: Pss 55–63; *Kath.* 9: Pss 64–69; *Kath.* 10: Pss 70–76; *Kath.* 11: Pss 77–84; *Kath.* 12: Pss 85–90; *Kath.* 13: Pss 91–100; *Kath.* 14: Pss 101–104; *Kath.* 15: Pss 105–108; *Kath.* 16: Pss 109–117; *Kath.* 17: Pss 118; *Kath.* 18: Pss 119–133; *Kath.* 19: Pss 134–142; *Kath.* 20: Pss 143–150. Here the numbering of the individual psalms follows that of the Septuagint; for most psalms (from Psalm 10 to 147) this differs from the numbering in the western tradition by one.

<sup>187</sup> This reading was often a *Life* or *Martyrion* of the saint commemorated on that day; in this connection see The *Metaphrases* of Symeon in Appendix 3.

<sup>188</sup> For these feast days see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.08, 14; XI.08, 21; XII.25, 29; I.06; II.02, 24; vol. 2, IV.16; VI.29; VIII.06, 15, 29; P.36.

<sup>189</sup> The odes that make up a canon are: Ode 1: Ex. 15:1–19; Ode 2: Deut. 32:1–43; Ode 3: 1 Kgs. 2:1–10; Ode 4: Hab. 3:2–19; Ode 5: Is. 26:9–20; Ode 6: Jon. 2:3–10; Ode 7: Dan. 3:26–56; Ode 8: Dan. 3:57–88, Ode 9: Lk. 1:46–79. The penitential Ode 2 was only chanted on very rare occasions.

usually chanted followed by a short hymn in honour of the Theotokos and then there was a reading. After Ode 6 a second reading was scheduled to take place on some days.

### *The Hours*

According to the *Synaxarion*, all of these minor offices were only carried out communally in the church during the three periods of fasting. For the rest of the year they were carried out by the monks individually in their cells.<sup>190</sup> The following analysis of readings during the Hours is taken from the few rather scrappy prescriptions in the *Synaxarion* for these offices during the periods of fasting.

### *The First Hour*

This office, inserted into the end of *Orthros* just before the concluding prayer, included a reading of patristic literature. In addition, just before the conclusion of this office the *proestos* was obliged, according to the *Hypotyposis*, to deliver a *katechesis* on a subject appropriate for that day. The *Synaxarion* specifies that from Sunday of Tyrophagos (the day prior to the First Week of Lent) on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent the *proestos* was to read the *Katecheseis* of Theodore the Stoudite. We do not know whether one of Paul's *Katecheseis* was read on the other days of the week. During the week a portion of about two pages from *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Klimakos was to be read starting with chapter one on Tuesday of the First Week of Lent; but on Saturdays and Sundays *Lives* or *Martyria* of the saints were read instead.<sup>191</sup>

### *The Third Hour*

During the Third Hour there was a reading of patristic literature beginning from Monday of the First Week and consisting of a page and a half from Ephrem the Syrian.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>190</sup> On the Hours compare *Hypotyposis* ch. 4, p. 152 and n. 30 with *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1, N.2; see also Introduction, A. 1: The *Katechetikon*, Introduction B. 7, p. 56 with n. 109.

<sup>191</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.11; T.13; T.17; T.19; APP. 1. The final reference indicates that Sunday was the only day when a *katechesis* was delivered at the First Hour during the periods of the year that were free of fasting.

<sup>192</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.12 O5e. The *Synaxarion* seems to suggest that Ephrem the Syrian was to be read continuously at *Orthros* and the Hours.

*The Sixth Hour*

At the Sixth Hour there could be two readings of patristic literature, but the second reading only took place during the First Week of Lent after which the Old Testament prophecy for the day took its place.

*The Ninth Hour*

One reading of patristic literature took place during this office each day apart from Fridays.

*The Divine Liturgy*

According to Chapter Five of the *Hypotyposis* the Divine Liturgy was to be celebrated every day, but close reading of the *Synaxarion* shows that the practice as laid down there was somewhat different. Throughout the non-fasting periods of the year it was indeed celebrated each day, but this varied during the three fasts. During the Christmas Fast and the Holy Apostles Fast<sup>193</sup> the Divine Liturgy seems to have been optional, depending partly on the decision of the *proestos* and partly on whether there was a commemoration of an important saint. In Lent the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts was celebrated during Vespers from Monday to Friday; but on Saturday and Sunday, which are not days of fasting, there was a celebration of the Divine Liturgy.

At all celebrations of the Divine Liturgy or at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts a reading from the apostolic epistles and a gospel reading took place. Some of the selected passages were used on more than one day.

*The Trapeza*

Chapter Nine of the *Hypotyposis* states that reading was to take place during meals in the *trapeza* and the meals were to be taken in silence; this was the common practice in all Byzantine monasteries. According to Chapter 43, the *Hypotyposis* itself was read at the beginning of each month as a reminder to the monks of the monastery's rule.<sup>194</sup> But the literature prescribed for the remainder of the year is not so clear. From a note in the *Synaxarion* among the prescriptions for *Orthros* on 11 November we learn that the *Paterikon* was being read at that time, though the *Life of Theodore the Stoudite* might be substituted in certain circumstances. On 19 January, the commemoration of Makarios the Egyptian, the *Apophthegmata of Makarios* were to be read both at the First Hour and in the *trapeza*. Later in the year the *Life of Pachomios* began to be read at the First Hour and in the *trapeza* from 13 May until it was completed. Although this

<sup>193</sup> The Christmas Fast runs from 15 November to 24 December, the Fast of the Holy Apostles from the Monday after All Saints' Day to 29 June.

<sup>194</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, p. 166; ch. 43, p. 210.

information about reading in the *trapeza* during the non-fasting periods of the year is rather patchy, for Lent we have much clearer directions. On Tuesday of the First Week of Lent *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Klimakos was begun and continued each day at the First Hour and in the *trapeza*; about two pages are prescribed to be read on each occasion. At the other Hours the readings were taken from Ephrem the Syrian.<sup>195</sup> Two things are clear from the few scraps that we have of such readings: firstly, that the sessions of reading allotted to the office of the First Hour and the *trapeza* are consciously linked, so what was being read progresses continuously from one to the other. This rather suggests that during the non-fasting periods the services of the Hours which were carried out by the monks privately in their cells did not include a reading. Secondly, the predominant source of the reading in the *trapeza* was writings on early monastic thought and practice.

### *The Acquisition of an Evergetis 'Library'*

To talk of a 'library' in the Evergetis monastery is perhaps to conjure up a picture of monks sitting and reading in a room surrounded by books, or even to give the impression that individual monks were able to borrow volumes for private reading in their cells. But such notions are almost certainly false. Though, as we have seen, private reading did take place in some monastic communities,<sup>196</sup> so far as we can tell from the *Hypotyposis* and the *Synaxarion*, the predominant, if not the only, form of reading in the Evergetis was communal. That is not to say that individual monks did not possess a copy of the psalms, for instance, and maybe another service book to help them with the offices of the Hours when they were carried out by the monks individually in their cells during the non-fasting periods of the year.

In Chapter Three of the *Hypotyposis*, Timothy stated:

You yourselves know and the truth demonstrates how it [the monastery] changed after it was left to me ... how it grew from being unimportant and incomplete ... furthermore how a church was built ... and how cells were constructed ... the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths ... and in addition the landed property ... It is not necessary for us

<sup>195</sup> For John Klimakos see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.13 First Hour; T.26 First Hour; T.33 First Hour; for Ephrem see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.12 O.5, N.1; T.13 O.5, Hours; T.14 O.5; T.17 N.4; T.19 O.5.

<sup>196</sup> See *TheodoreRule*, ch. 26, p. 108 and above, pp. 70–71.



to talk of those matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the *brebion*.<sup>197</sup>

According to Gautier, the inventory (*brebion*) of the monastery may have followed the *Hypotyposis* text in Cod. Athen. graec. 788. If so, it has been lost from the manuscript.<sup>198</sup> If the *Hypotyposis* were the only document remaining from the Evergetis monastery, 'the number and kinds of books' could only be guessed at, using the evidence from the inventories of other contemporary monasteries. Fortunately, this is not the case. Other parts of the Evergetis dossier mention authors and books and shed some light on the way that a library at Evergetis was built up, for some sort of library with its *bibliophylax* (librarian) clearly existed in the monastery by the year 1064.<sup>199</sup>

### *The Early Years*

The first five years of the monastery's existence under the leadership of Paul were, according to Timothy, marked by the struggle to get cells built and a viable religious community established. Even though Timothy highlights the acquisition of books as an important feature of his own period as *hegoumenos*, some scholars have presumed that the nucleus of the library at Evergetis was made up of copies of the various works which Paul, the first founder, drew upon to create the *Synagoge*, his manual of the spiritual life.<sup>200</sup> Such a view does not have any firm foundation, though this is not to say that Paul did not bring with him copies of some of his favourite authors or quickly obtain them to reinforce the spiritual principles that lay behind his new community. Furthermore, during the short time that he was in charge of the monastery, it is unlikely that he had the time to begin the huge task of compiling the *Synagoge* while carrying out his duties as *proestos*, duties such as overseeing the administration and spiritual life of the house, composing *katecheseis* and hearing confession every day.<sup>201</sup> In addition, we suggest below that during that time Paul also composed a 'rule' for his monastery which Timothy later recast when drawing up the *Hypotyposis* much as we have it today.<sup>202</sup> In view of the size of the *Synagoge*, it is much more likely that he had been working on it long before he decided to set up the Evergetis, perhaps in the monastery where he had been tonsured. Working on the compilation might have been the spur that drove him to leave his original

<sup>197</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, pp. 150–51.

<sup>198</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 12.

<sup>199</sup> See Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 17, n. 9.

<sup>200</sup> See Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 17, n. 9.

<sup>201</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 4, p. 153; 7, pp. 160–61.

<sup>202</sup> See Introduction, C. 17 and Appendix 1.

house and set up his own community based on the monastic principles he had been studying and assembling. It seems more likely that he arrived at the monastery with the greater part of the work done and most – if not all – of the excerpts made.<sup>203</sup> On Paul's death, however, a copy of the *Synagoge* surely held pride of place in whatever collection of books had been created at Evergetis by that time.<sup>204</sup>

A much more profitable place in which to seek evidence of books present at Evergetis in the early years of its existence is Paul's *Katechetikon*. It is unlikely that he would have started on such a task before he set up his own foundation. Among the various duties during his years as *proestos*, Paul therefore must have had to spend a regular amount of time composing the *katechesis* which he delivered each day during the First Hour for the spiritual benefit of his monks.<sup>205</sup> Paul's *Katechetikon* is made up of 368 *katecheseis* in total, the great majority composed from the works of a number of the spiritual Fathers of the Church; the sources of 38 of them remain unidentified, suggesting that they may be original compositions by Paul.<sup>206</sup> For most of the *katecheseis* (220) the source is Theodore the Stoudite and Paul drew on both his *Lesser* and his *Great Catecheses*;<sup>207</sup> his use of the second, less commonly found in surviving manuscripts, adds weight to the suggestion that Paul had close ties to the Stoudios monastery.<sup>208</sup> In *Katechesis* 71, Paul reveals some of his other sources: Maximos the Confessor, Dorotheos of Gaza, Ephrem the Syrian and Neilos. In addition three *katecheseis* are drawn from a work by John of Karpathos and one from Diadochos of Photike.<sup>209</sup> We can conclude, then, that, in addition to the *Catecheses* of Theodore, some works by these authors formed the 'nucleus' of the Evergetis 'library' during its first five years.

<sup>203</sup> See also Introduction A. 1 and A. 3: The Evergetis and Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, pp. 26–8.

<sup>204</sup> If we accept Janet Rutherford's view that the *Synagoge* was really a manual to guide the *begoumenos* in his running of the spiritual life within the community, then Paul would have bequeathed it to Timothy and he in turn would have passed it on to his successor. On this see Rutherford, 'Diadochos and the Structure of the *Synagoge*', pp. 154–7.

<sup>205</sup> Introduction, A. 1. See also reading at the First Hour p. 73 above, and below, p. 79.

<sup>206</sup> For a detailed listing of sources see Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147.

<sup>207</sup> For correspondences between Theodore's *Lesser* and *Great Catecheses* and Paul's *Katechetikon* see Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, pp. 98; 174–88.

<sup>208</sup> See also Introduction, A. 3, pp. 26–7.

<sup>209</sup> See Appendix 3 for the precise works of these authors used by Paul for his *katecheseis*.

*The Later Years*

One of the most important books possessed by the Evergetis monastery was, of course, the *Synaxarion* which acted as the guide for the daily worship inside and outside the *katholikon*. No monastery could function for long without one and a liturgical *typikon* of some kind, however sketchy, was almost essential from the beginnings of the foundation. Even if in the initial years of the Evergetis monastery there had been an experienced monk able to carry out the role of *ekkleisiarches* without the aid of a liturgical *typikon* specific to the house, such a document would have quickly been drawn up to enshrine its distinctive pattern of worship. However, at the time of the founding of the Evergetis there was no need for a monastery to make up its own liturgical *typikon* from scratch. Just as the founders of monasteries were able by the eleventh century to take over, in whole or in part, the administrative *typikon* of another monastery, it was equally possible for them to acquire copies of liturgical *typika*.<sup>210</sup> The *typikon* of the Monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople, for example, specifies that ‘the office ... ought to be sung in accordance with the *Synaxarion* of the monastery of Evergetis following the traditional form and the practice.’<sup>211</sup> But what of the *Synaxarion* of Evergetis? Was it a copy of some other liturgical *typikon* and did it acknowledge any dependency?

In setting out the services for the Feast of the Annunciation, which is always a complicated procedure since that feast (25 March) falls within the movable cycle and very often during the Lenten fast, the initial author of the *Synaxarion*, or a later reviser, inserted a note stating that the services for the Feast of the Annunciation followed the pattern of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople). He goes on to say that he specifically consulted a certain Anthony, at that time in charge of the services in the Great Church, on the problems associated with services for the Feast of the Annunciation.<sup>212</sup> If the Monastery of Evergetis followed the pattern of the Great Church regarding that feast, it is quite possible that the *Synaxarion* of the Great Church was a source for other parts of its *Synaxarion*. The note which follows in the *Synaxarion* also discusses what *typika* found in the monasteries on Mt Olympos in Asia Minor had to say about the celebration of this important feast.<sup>213</sup> A further influence at work in the liturgical practice at Evergetis was that of Theodore the Stoudite, whose specific instruction regarding the matins gospel reading at *Orthros* on the

<sup>210</sup> For the copying of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, C. 18: The Influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>211</sup> See *MamasTyp*, ch. 8, p. 1002; ch. 46, p. 1024.

<sup>212</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, III.25 N.7.

<sup>213</sup> *EuSynax*, vol. 2, III.25 N.8.

feast days of the Theotokos is reinforced by another note.<sup>214</sup> The influence of Theodore was further enhanced by the reading of his *Katecheseis* by the *proestos* on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent at the office of the First Hour. Yet there was no slavish following of the Stoudite liturgical pattern. In a note near the end of the Easter cycle, the compiler talks of a difference between those monasteries that adhered to the Stoudite practice concerning the frequency with which the monks partook of communion in the Divine Liturgy, compared with the practice of the Evergetine monks.<sup>215</sup> Thus there is some evidence that those drawing up the liturgical procedure at Evergetis were not content just to follow the pattern of one house, but considered those of a number of communities.

The *Synaxarion*, as we currently have it in Cod. Athen. graec. 788, had clearly been updated at least twice, and it was expected that it would be further updated in the future. The prescriptions for the services on 16 April to commemorate the two 'founders' of the monastery, Paul and Timothy, were clearly originally written for Paul alone and were later modified to include Timothy. This demonstrates that the *Synaxarion* certainly existed in an earlier version during the time that Timothy was *hegoumenos*. On Timothy's death, modifications were made and inserted, possibly in note form to begin with, in the then existing version of the *Synaxarion* and later, perhaps when that book had become seriously worn through constant use and a new copy was urgently needed, they were incorporated fully into a new copy.<sup>216</sup> That the version of the *Synaxarion* preserved in Cod. Athen. graec. 788 is one that had developed over a period of time is also highlighted by the discrepancies between it and the *Hypotyposis* over the procedure for waking the monks before *Orthros*, and over the First Hour.<sup>217</sup> The *Hypotyposis* has preserved the original practice of carrying out the minor office of the First Hour with a *katechesis* in the *katholikon* throughout the year but the *Synaxarion* shows that a change was made to this practice by one of Timothy's successors as *hegoumenos*.

<sup>214</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.08 N.

<sup>215</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.58 N.2.

<sup>216</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 where we find: 'On the same day we carry out jointly the commemorations of our saintly fathers and founders, the monk *kyr* Paul and the monk *kyr* Timothy. They take place as follows.' However, most of the *propers* are described as being 'of the saintly father' or 'of the saintly man' rather than 'of the saintly fathers' or 'of the saintly men'. The identity of 'the saintly father' is given at *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 PN.3. The only places where we find both founders clearly stated is at the *ektene* during *Pannychis* and in the final note after the prescriptions for the Divine Liturgy.

<sup>217</sup> On the procedures for waking the monks compare *Hypotyposis*, ch. 6, p. 158 with *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.59 preliminaries to *Orthros*, and see also Introduction B. 7 with n. 108; on the First Hour compare *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, pp. 152–3 with *EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP. 1, N.2; see also Introduction, A. 1 on The *Katechetikon* and Introduction B. 7, with n. 109.

New works were clearly sought and added to the Evergetis collection as the years went by. Readings set for *Orthros* in the *Synaxarion* provide evidence that the monastery was interested in obtaining the *Lives* of three particular saints. The three *Lives* are those of the holy Philotheos (17 September), of St Gregory of Dekapolis (20 November) and of St Makrina (19 July). The text mentions a specific *Life* and adds the comment ‘if there is one’.<sup>218</sup> At another point in the *Synaxarion*, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, in the prescriptions for *Orthros* the text specifies that a reading should take place, ‘if there is one, of the Paralytic, in the *Panegyrikon*’.<sup>219</sup> This comment suggests that, just as copies of hagiographies were gradually collected for the monastery, a range of suitable homilies was also acquired to make up these collections.<sup>220</sup> From the evidence of the *Katechetikon* and the *Synaxarion*, it is however possible to recreate the Evergetis ‘library’ and list many of the books that had been collected from the time of the monastery’s foundation to the death of Timothy.<sup>221</sup>

## 10. Manuscript and Book Production: An Evergetis Scriptorium

A list of books copied at the monastery of St John on Patmos indicates that some were destined for named individuals and others for the monastery’s *metochia* and dependent hermits.<sup>222</sup> No doubt the monks who were charged with the running of a *metochion*<sup>223</sup> might have been able to beg or borrow spare copies of essential liturgical books from other monasteries nearby, but the prime responsibility for the provision of such necessities clearly lay with the mother house. In the case of Evergetis, the information on the only *metochion* that we know of is a little vague and comes from sources outside the monastery. It seems likely that this *metochion* was situated in the south-western part of Constantinople and was dedicated to St Andrew.<sup>224</sup>

Given that a monastery had such a responsibility, apart from the need to replace its own worn-out copies and help out other smaller establishments, it was also possible that wealthy, pious, lay people would turn to it in order to acquire copies of books for their own private use. Hence the presence of a scriptorium

<sup>218</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.17, O.9b; XI.20, O.5f; vol. 2, VII.19.

<sup>219</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.22, O.9a. See Appendix 3 for detailed information on the *Panegyrika* at Evergetis.

<sup>220</sup> For mss containing monastic *panegyrika* see *Panegyrika* in Appendix 3.

<sup>221</sup> For the titles of the works found in the *Katechetikon* and the *Synaxarion* see Appendix 3.

<sup>222</sup> Waring, ‘Literacies of Lists’, 171f.

<sup>223</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 33, p. 198.

<sup>224</sup> See Introduction, A. 2: History of the Evergetis Monastery and the Map, p. ii.

within a monastery of any reasonable size, especially one of influence, such as Evergetis, was very likely. It has long been known that three manuscripts were copied by monks in Evergetis. Of these three the earliest, Cod. Messan. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. graec. 71, containing the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was finished in April 1064 by a monk of Evergetis named Gerasimos who added, in six lines of poetry at the end of the manuscript, the information that he held the position of *bibliophylax* in the monastery.<sup>225</sup> The second manuscript, Cod. Marc. graec. 101, was completed on 19 July 1065 by Gregory, who described himself as 'a monk and presbyter of the Evergetis monastery'.<sup>226</sup> This manuscript is a copy of the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom on the Epistles of St Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. The final item, Cod. Bodl. Auct. T.2.2, was completed, perhaps by the selfsame Gregory, on 11 February 1067 and contains Theodoret's *Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets*.<sup>227</sup> Gregory also informs us that Timothy, the *hegoumenos* of the monastery, was living at this date in seclusion from the community as a recluse.<sup>228</sup> But what other manuscripts may have been produced at Evergetis? In the first place it is most likely that Cod. Athen. graec. 788, the manuscript containing both the *Synaxarion* and the *Hypotyposis*, was copied at Evergetis, even though we are not sure exactly why and for whom, or whether the two works were originally bound together.<sup>229</sup> Similarly, Paul's *Synagoge* and his *Katechetikon* might well have been copied at Evergetis at the request of other monasteries.<sup>230</sup>

Jean Irigoin made a strong case for adding two unattributed manuscripts to the three known to have been copied by monks in Evergetis.<sup>231</sup> He argued that there is strong codicological evidence to add Cod. Paris. Coisl. 248, containing *Thesaurus de Trinitate* by Cyril of Alexandria, which was completed by a monk named Theodosios on 4 December 1065. He also suggested a possible

<sup>225</sup> For the note appended by the copyist see J. Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie: La production d'un scriptorium de Constantinople peu après le milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dictata MCMLXXIX* (Ghent, 1979), 175–83, p. 177; see also K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols (Boston, 1938), vol. 9, pl. 633.

<sup>226</sup> For Gregory's note see Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', p. 178.

<sup>227</sup> For the note appended by Gregory see Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', p. 177; see also N. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands. Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in the Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols (Medieval Academy of America Publications, 81, Cambridge, MA, 1973), I, 20, II, pls 31–2.

<sup>228</sup> On the question of the *hegoumenos* being a recluse see Introduction, B. 4: The Double Hegoumenate.

<sup>229</sup> Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', see p. 183, n. 25; see Introduction, C. 12: Codex Atheniensis graecus 788.

<sup>230</sup> On manuscripts of the *Synagoge* see Crostini, 'Scriptorium of Evergetis', pp. 183–9.

<sup>231</sup> Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', pp. 180–3.

second one: Cod. Paris. graec. 581, which contains *Homilies on Genesis* by John Chrysostom. The beginning and ending of this second manuscript are mutilated so that the name of the copyist is unknown.<sup>232</sup> Another manuscript stated by Irigoin as having been copied in Evergetis is Cod. Athos Dionysiou 124 [37] containing the text of the New Testament.<sup>233</sup> Barbara Crostini Lappin has put forward other manuscripts as possible products of the Evergetis scriptorium.<sup>234</sup> She discussed, in such detail as was then available to her, ten further early manuscripts as possible products of the Evergetis scriptorium: four or five are of the *Synagoge* of which two are considered particularly interesting<sup>235</sup> and six of Paul's *Katechetikon*.<sup>236</sup> Out of these six there are again two in particular<sup>237</sup> which deserve further examination.<sup>238</sup> It is clear from these various fragments of evidence that a scriptorium, however small, did exist at Evergetis during the eleventh and twelfth centuries<sup>239</sup> and the names of three monks who were definitely working there are known: Gerasimos the *bibliophylax*, Gregory the presbyter, the monk Thomas plus, possibly, another, the monk Theodosios.

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<sup>232</sup> Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', p. 183.

<sup>233</sup> Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', p. 183, n. 25.

<sup>234</sup> Crostini, 'Scriptorium of Evergetis'.

<sup>235</sup> Codd. Paris. Coisl. 298 and Istanbul Panagia Kamariotissa, 92.

<sup>236</sup> If the attribution of these extra manuscripts is correct, it is further evidence that the monastery was supplying a demand for works associated with the house and confirms the esteem in which the Evergetis was held in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

<sup>237</sup> Codd. Athen. graec. 215 and Athen. graec. 295.

<sup>238</sup> On mss of the *Synagoge* produced at Evergetis see Crostini, 'Scriptorium of Evergetis', pp. 183–9; on mss of the *Katechetikon* see pp. 190–96; for the conclusion and further lines of enquiry see pp. 196f.

<sup>239</sup> But see Irigoin, 'Paléographie et codicologie', p. 183, n. 25.



# Introduction C

## Text

### 11. The Making of Paul's *Typikon*

The *Hypotyposis* is often described as a *ktetorikon typikon* ('founder's rule') even though the term *typikon* is only occasionally used in the document and its use is confined to passages of a legal or ceremonial nature.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, used in two early passages which can be attributed to Paul, the first founder. When a new *hegoumenos* has been appointed by the senior monks, he is to enter the sanctuary of the monastic church and take up the *typikon* which has been previously placed on the altar and the *hegoumenos*' staff which has been leant against it. An *oikonomos* who transgresses any of the instructions of the *typikon* is to be deposed.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of the *Hypotyposis*, the monks are exhorted to keep the provisions of the 'present *typikon*' and to have it read aloud each month.<sup>3</sup> The term *hypotyposis* ('regulation', 'rule') itself, is, apart from its use in the title rubric to the entire text as we now have it, only used once, at the end of Chapter Six, and refers to the regulation of specific liturgical matters.<sup>4</sup> From the contexts in which the term *typikon* is used, however, it can be deduced that what was meant by the term was a body of regulatory material, which, by the time of the redaction of Athen. graec. 788, had been gathered together in some kind of physical form, in this particular case in a codex, which also included the section which is identified as the *Synaxarion*, 'that is the rule (*typikon*) of church services for the sacred monastery of the most holy Theotokos Evergetis'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. Galatariotou, 'Byzantine *ktetorika typika*: A Comparative Study', in *REB*, 45 (1987), 77–138.

<sup>2</sup> See chs 13, p. 181; 14, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> See chs 40, p. 207; 43, p. 210; the use of the phrase 'the present *typikon*' is significant, see p. 89 below. The word only otherwise appears in the chapter headings (chs 1; 40; 43), in the late addition (*Hypotyposis*, pp. 107–9;) and in the colophon describing the gift of Cod. Athen. graec. 788 to the Petritziotissa Monastery (*Hypotyposis*, p. 213 where the phrase 'this book of the *typikon*' is used).

<sup>4</sup> *Hypotyposis*, p. 147; ch. 6, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, p. 7. The *Synaxarion* is contained in ff. 1–179v; the *Hypotyposis* in ff. 180r–222v; see Introduction, C. 12 on Cod. Athen. graec. 788. The *Synaxarion* also contains

The *Hypotyposis* is a document which has grown over time. As is demonstrated below, it is possible to discern various 'layers' within it, the earliest being the rule composed by its first *hegoumenos*, Paul Evergetinos.<sup>6</sup> But what were the sources for the material that was contained in that rule? It should be stated at the outset that, unlike the *Synaxarion*, where mention is made of other rules which have been consulted – those of the Monastery of Stoudios, of the Monastery of Manuel, of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) and of 'the monasteries on Olympos' (Mt Olympos in western Asia Minor) – the *Hypotyposis* contains no such indications.<sup>7</sup> Modern scholars have been unable to find any explicit or implicit borrowing or copying from earlier administrative *typika* in that of the Evergetis. It is particularly notable that no close associations can be made with the regulatory documents for the Monastery of Stoudios, since, as we have seen, there are very good reasons for postulating a close relationship between Paul and that particular house.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, Alexei Pentkovskii has demonstrated that elements of the so-called Stoudite *Synaxarion* are reflected in that of the Evergetis.<sup>9</sup> Although there are indications of common areas of interest between the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and the extended Stoudite rule probably dateable to the period 975–1043 – such as a concern for the proper behaviour of the *hegoumenos* and for probity amongst monks who hold offices in the monastery – there are no direct textual borrowings from or references to it in our document.<sup>10</sup> However, if, as Barbara Crostini Lappin has suggested, we might associate the foundation of the Evergetis with Paul's dissatisfaction with contemporary affairs at Stoudios, then it is perhaps not surprising that no clear indications of

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another, more technical usage of the word *typika*, meaning a specific short monastic service or two Psalms from it, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, p. 766.

<sup>6</sup> Although Paul transmitted his monastery to Timothy *via* his – now lost – *diatheke* ('will'), see *Hypotyposis* ch. 3, p. 150, this was not, we contend, the primary regulatory document for the Evergetis, though it may well have had admonitory material in it.

<sup>7</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.25S/K.1; vol. 2, P.58 N.2 (Stoudios); APP.10 (Monastery of Manuel); III.25 N.7 (Great Church) and III.25 N.8 (monasteries on Mt Olympos).

<sup>8</sup> See Introduction, A. 3: The Evergetis and Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.

<sup>9</sup> See A.M. Pentkovskii, *Tipikon patriarkha Aleksiia Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi* (Moscow, 2001), p. 142 and English summary, p. 425. We are immensely grateful to Jonathan Shepard for his assistance with translation from this work.

<sup>10</sup> See D. Krausmüller, 'The Abbots of Evergetis as Opponents of Monastic Reform. Monastic Discourse in 11th- and 12th-century Constantinople', *REB*, 69 (2011), 111–24, who discusses the evolution of the extended Stoudite Rule, reflected in the so-called *Typikon of Alexios the Stoudite* which only survives in its Slavonic version. It is interesting that, like that of the Evergetis, this rule is also preceded by a liturgical *typikon*, see Pentkovskii, *Tipikon*, pp. 232–368.

borrowings from its actual legal regulations rather than its spiritual heritage can be found in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>11</sup>

Paul almost certainly turned to other *typika* of the tenth and eleventh centuries when he was composing one for his own house, as later founders were to turn to the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, but we do not know which these were. Athanasios of Athos's foundation documents for the Great Lavra – highly influenced by those of Stoudios as they are – were clearly not models,<sup>12</sup> nor was the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Panagios in Constantinople, dating to the first quarter of the eleventh century, which partly survives as a model for that of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotissa at Bačkovo in Bulgaria (1083).<sup>13</sup> Since no full Greek foundation documents of the first half of the eleventh century survive, any questions of Paul's immediate inspiration from them for his *typikon* or their possible similarity to the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* must thus remain unanswered.

This state of affairs thus brings into question the issue of the supposed 'innovation' of the *Hypotyposis*. Dirk Krausmüller suggests that this lies in the 'more developed regulations' concerning the legal status of the house and the auditing of the monastic accounts.<sup>14</sup> While it is impossible to date the passages concerned with the monastery's status precisely, it is likely that Paul did, at the very least, emphasise the need for his foundation to be 'independent, free of everyone's control and self-governing'.<sup>15</sup> But this formulation is not new, as it is found in St Athanasios' *Typikon* for the Lavra on Mount Athos, composed in the late tenth century, and may also have appeared in that of the Monastery of Panagios.<sup>16</sup> As for the financial management of the Evergetis, Chapter 20, which can be attributed to Paul, only provides basic instructions on this subject, merely laying down that the origins and destination for income and expenditure should be noted down by 'the person who looks after [it]'. The term *docheiarios*, which is further discussed in Chapter 30 (which can be attributed to Timothy), only

<sup>11</sup> See Crostini Lappin, 'Paul of Evergetis', pp. 392–4 and n. 8 (above).

<sup>12</sup> See *AthanasiosRule*; *AthanasiosTyp*; *AthanasiosTest*.

<sup>13</sup> See *PakourianosTyp*.

<sup>14</sup> Krausmüller, 'Abbots of Evergetis'.

<sup>15</sup> See Introduction, B. 6: Status and Possessions of the Evergetis. In ch. 12, only the section of text from 'We instruct' to 'worthy of all praise' and the very last sentence of the chapter can be attributed to Paul. The sections mentioning the 'Blessed and holy father' (clearly Paul), the imperial chrysobulls and the penal clauses are clearly later additions, see Introduction, C. 14: Insertions in the *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>16</sup> See *AthanasiosTyp*, chs 12, p. 254; 18, p. 255.

occurs here in the chapter heading, which is itself a later insertion.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, Paul, like any other property-owner of his day, does show some concern for preserving the legal status and encouraging the efficient management of his 'assets'.

Paul's *typikon*, then, may reflect influences from contemporary administrative documents and practices. But does it also give us any glimpses into his own preoccupations? Although there is nothing overtly autobiographical in those parts of the *Hypotyposis* that we can associate with Paul, save a short phrase in which he refers to his own social standing – 'Since then as a consequence of our weakness we have gained possession of some small pieces of immovable property'<sup>18</sup> – some areas of spiritual concern revealed in the *Hypotyposis* can be paralleled in the two other collections made by him: his *Katecheseis* and the *Synagoge*.<sup>19</sup> The importance of discovering this 'voice of the founder' as mediated by his sermons and the subjects emphasised in the *Synagoge* can hardly be overstressed. For increasingly through the eleventh century, monastic founders felt the need, as Michael Angold has put it, 'to infuse [their *typika*] with [their] own spiritual wisdom and past experience' and the *Hypotyposis* is a very early extant example of this trend.<sup>20</sup> In addition, Paul was, of course, the first *hegoumenos* of the Evergetis and thus his 'voice' and the 'transcribed text that that voice generated' was the guiding light of his monastery.<sup>21</sup> The *Hypotyposis*, as well as the texts of the *Synagoge* and the *Katecheseis*, were all intended to be read aloud and thus preserved, in a very real sense, Paul's own 'voice'.

There are only two uses of the word *katechesis* in the *Hypotyposis* and both of them almost certainly refer to Paul's own collection. In Chapter Four, the reading by the *hegoumenos* 'of the short *katechesis* from the words of the Fathers ... just as we received it from our most blessed father', is prescribed for the end of *Orthros* near the end of the service of the First Hour.<sup>22</sup> In Chapter 40, mention is made of the need for the monks to hope to guard against the wiles of the

<sup>17</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 20, p. 190 and Introduction, B. 5: Monastic Officers at the Evergetis; B. 6 and C. 15: The *Hypotyposis*: Chapters and their Titles.

<sup>18</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 34, p. 200.

<sup>19</sup> For autobiographical elements in Byzantine *typika*, see M. Angold, 'The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium', *DOP*, 52 (1993), 225–57 and *idem*, 'Were Byzantine Monastic *typika* Literature?' in R. Beaton and C. Roueché, *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot, 1993), 46–70. For Paul's *Katecheseis* and *Synagoge*, see Introduction A. 1: The Evergetis Dossier.

<sup>20</sup> Angold, 'Were Byzantine Monastic *typika* Literature?', p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> P. Hatlie, 'Byzantine Monastic Rules before the *typikon*', in Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders*, 140–181, p. 153.

<sup>22</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4, p. 153 and n. 30.

devil ‘illuminated by the grace of Christ and from the constant reading of the divine scriptures and the *katecheseis*’.<sup>23</sup> Thus after Paul’s death, his monks were constantly reminded of his spiritual and behavioural preoccupations by the re-reading of the sermons which were carefully tailored to the liturgical year, but they can also be discerned in the instructions he gave for their everyday life in the monastery. In his *Katecheseis*, Paul emphasised the importance of the responsibility of a *hegoumenos* for the salvation of his monks; a good *hegoumenos* could be compared to a farmer who sowed seed and rejoiced at a good harvest whilst grieving for a bad one. He emphasised the importance of obedience to the *hegoumenos*; he alone was to be the chief spiritual guide of the house.<sup>24</sup> These concerns are certainly evident in the *Hypotyposis*, which emphasises the confessional role of the *hegoumenos*, the salvation which may follow free and thorough disclosure to him and the need to choose a spiritually outstanding leader for the Evergetis.<sup>25</sup> Since it is very likely that Paul’s *Katecheseis* were composed while he was *hegoumenos* of the Evergetis, we can see in the *Hypotyposis* the culmination of a process whereby his general spiritual teaching was transformed into a more legal, regulatory framework.<sup>26</sup>

Paul’s vast spiritual collection, the *Synagoge*, can also be seen as a likely source for the *Hypotyposis*. But it is most unlikely that Paul had the time at Evergetis or that the infant monastery’s library contained the number of books which he used to compose his *florilegium*. The Monastery of Stoudios has already been postulated as a possible place where Paul gathered his material, even before he founded the Evergetis. Be that as it may, a number of the topics contained in the *Synagoge* are echoed – if not directly quoted from it – in the *Hypotyposis* in passages which, we believe, can be associated with Paul. Concern about the Divine Liturgy and partaking of the holy elements; daily confession; conduct in the *trapeza* and the monastic diet; fasts and feasts; the daily distribution of alms in the gateway of the monastery; behaviour and discipline; bathing; the tonsuring and entry of new brothers; the banning of women in the monastery (interestingly a matter aimed for, but not fully achieved in the Evergetis) and the institution of an infirmary to care for sick brothers are all issues which prominently feature in both texts.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See ch. 40, pp. 207–8 and n. 310.

<sup>24</sup> Crostini Lappin, ‘Paul of Evergetis’, pp. 386, 390–391. See her *Selected Texts from the Evergetis Katechetikon: Editio Princeps with Introduction, Translation and Notes* (forthcoming).

<sup>25</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 7, pp. 160–61 and 15, pp. 184–5 on confession and chs 3, p. 150 and 14, pp. 182–3 on the choice of a *hegoumenos*.

<sup>26</sup> See Introduction, B. 9: Reading and Books at the Evergetis.

<sup>27</sup> For *Hypotyposis*, ch. 5, see *EvSynag*, IV.32, 34 (divine liturgy); ch. 7, see *EvSynag*, I.21 (daily confession); ch. 9, see *EvSynag*, II.20, 21, 23 (*trapeza* and diet); chs 10–11, see *EvSynag*,

There is thus a strong case for discerning the ‘voice of Paul’ in the *Hypotyposis* by making comparisons with his other known works, as well as by using the linguistic tools which are discussed in sections 14–17 below, but these approaches cannot help us with the question of when Paul’s *typikon*, as a physical entity, came into being. This was clearly at some point during his five-year hegoumenate, so between June 1049 and his death on 16 April, 1054. Peter Hatlie has suggested that the circumstances in which the wishes and exhortations of monastic founders were written down were often moments of conflict, or potential conflict in a house, citing the example of the serious illness and subsequent recovery of Theodore of Stoudios in c. 800 as a catalyst for his promulgation of new regulations for the appointment of his successor.<sup>28</sup> We have no evidence for such a crisis in the early years of the Evergetis, but given the fact that Paul only lived for five years after its foundation, he may have been of an age to consider establishing his wishes in a more permanent fashion sooner rather than later. Whether he did this right at the outset or somewhat later in his hegoumenate, we have no means of knowing.

Paul Evergetinos’ *typikon* did not, of course, remain unaltered. Like other documents of its type, it was added to and adjusted, probably on a number of occasions. Even though the drafters of *typika* might inveigh against any abandonment or alteration to their texts and prescribe dire punishment for so doing, *typika*, like the houses they regulated, were subject to growth and accretion as well as, in some cases, decay and death. The various ‘layers’ of the *Hypotyposis* and the process by which it reached the form found in Athen. graec. 788 are discussed in detail in the following sections, where we suggest the circumstances in which these textual additions might have been made. But two important questions need to be raised here. How was the Evergetis regulated before the writing of the first *typikon* and what did that first *typikon* look like?

The first question might perhaps be answered by recalling the ability of Byzantines of every standing to carry on business orally. This could take many forms, such as the occasions well testified to in the Athonite archives of oral evidence being taken in the matter of land boundaries. Knowledge was commonly acquired, in monasteries as elsewhere, by memorising it. The liturgy is the prime candidate for monastic rote-learning, but study of the biblical quotations found in *typika* also often reveals a level of inaccuracy that indicates that writers were

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II.13, 16, 19 (fasts and feasts); chs 36, 38, see *EvSynag.* III.46, 50 (distribution in the gateway); chs 5, 9, 13, 15, 21, 42, see *EvSynag.* II.34 (behaviour and discipline); ch. 28, see *EvSynag.* III.16 (bathing); ch. 37, see *EvSynag.* I.26 (tonsuring and entry of new brothers); ch. 39, see *EvSynag.* II.29 (ban on women); ch. 41, see *EvSynag.* III.15, 18 (infirmary and sick brethren).

<sup>28</sup> Hatlie, ‘Byzantine Monastic Rules before the *typikon*’, pp. 158–60.

quoting from memory.<sup>29</sup> The instruction found in the *Hypotyposis* to read aloud from suitable homiletic or biblical texts at mealtimes emphasises the fact that although Byzantine monks did a lot of reciting and chanting, they also did a lot of listening and by this two-fold method of hearing and repeating acquired a mass of memorised information.<sup>30</sup> It is quite possible, therefore, that a monastery could have been run reasonably smoothly by means of oral instruction until such times as a *typikon* (in both senses of the word) was written down. But this, as has been pointed out earlier, presupposes the presence of a body of experienced monks – especially an *ekklesiarches* in charge of services – who could, at the outset, simply continue with what they had been used to elsewhere perhaps with the aid of a very few service books and copies of the Septuagint, Gospels and Epistles.<sup>31</sup>

At some point, though, Paul wished to apply his personal stamp to the administrative structures of the Evergetis and thus, we believe, his *typikon* came into being. But was it in the form of a codex right from the start, or could it have been, like the *typika* of John Tzimiskes and Constantine Monomachos for Mt Athos, in the form of a parchment roll?<sup>32</sup> The references in what we consider to be Paul's document – to the *typikon* lying on the altar at the appointment of a new *hegoumenos* or *oikonomos* – do not preclude it being in the latter form. But mention of the 'reading of the *present typikon*' once a month surely indicates not only the existence of a more 'usable' version in the form of a codex, but also the strong possibility that what existed was not the first *typikon* but a later 'edition'. It is to discussion of the later additions and the subsequent 'editions' of the *Hypotyposis* that we now turn.

## 12. Codex Atheniensis graecus 788

This is the sole surviving manuscript containing both the text of the *Synaxarion* and that of the *Hypotyposis*. The *Synaxarion* is contained in folios 1r–179v and

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, *Hypotyposis*, chs 5, p. 157, n. 57 and 9, p. 167, n. 98.

<sup>30</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9.

<sup>31</sup> See Introduction, B. 9, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> For the appearance of these two documents, see *Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Archives de l'Athos, 7, Paris, 1975), no. 7 *Typikon of John Tzimiskes* (pre-Summer, 972) and Plates XI–XIX. The *typikon* is a long, thick parchment roll, 315 cm x 45 cm. For the *Typikon of Constantine Monomachos*, see *loc. cit.*, no. 8 (1045). This only survives in a twelfth-century copy, but this is also a parchment roll at least 265.5 cm x 40 cm (the lowest section of parchment is missing).



the *Hypotyposis* folios 180r–222r.<sup>33</sup> To some scholars, it has seemed strange, if not illogical, for the manuscript to have what is tantamount to the founder's *typikon* after the detailed prescriptions for services throughout the year in the *katholikon* and oratories of the monastery. This has provoked the vexed question of whether the manuscript was always a single codex or whether it has been assembled at some point from two separate documents. Another important question is its date, a problem which especially applies to the *Hypotyposis*. Though often attributed to Timothy, the monastery's second *hegoumenos*, there is evidence, discussed later in this section, which suggests that Timothy's document was modified by later *hegoumenoi*. This being the case, it is important to attempt to reach some consensus on a likely date for this particular copy.

The two documents had somewhat different roles to play within the life of the monastery. The *Hypotyposis* was supposed to enshrine the ethos and tradition of the community as set down by the founder and to remind the monks of the principles underpinning their communal life. It was to be read to them in the *trapeza* at the beginning of each month.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, the *Synaxarion* was in the first place a reference document in which the *ekklesiarches*, and perhaps the *kanonarchos* also, could find the propers required for the celebration of the various services on each day. Secondly, the fact that some liturgical elements were written in full and in larger letters than the general instructions, suggests that the *Synaxarion* was displayed in front of the choir during the services so that a leading cantor could chant particular items or the priest recite special prayers directly from it.<sup>35</sup> As such, the *Synaxarion* is likely to have seen far more use than the *Hypotyposis* and was therefore liable to greater wear and tear and probably needed to be replaced from time to time.

While the text of the *Hypotyposis* is complete, that of the *Synaxarion* is not. The numbering given to the folios does not betray any omission, but it is clear from a close reading of the text that the prescriptions for the services from part way through *Orthros* on Saturday of the Second Week of Easter to part way through Vespers on Friday of the Third Week of Easter are missing.<sup>36</sup> Also, in

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed description of the manuscript see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 11–13. For discussion of the manuscript and references to previous publications on it, see B. Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating of Codex *Atheniensis graecus* 788, *Typikon* of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (founded in 1049)', *Scriptorium*, 52 (1998), 330–349.

<sup>34</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 43, p. 210.

<sup>35</sup> The liturgical items in question are special *apolytikia* and *stichera* (see for example *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.01 V.12; vol. 2, T.57), special prayers for The Washing of Feet ceremony on Holy Thursday (see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, pp. 481 and 483).

<sup>36</sup> On the question of missing folios see Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', p. 335; Klentos, *Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-century Constantinople*, p. 275; *EvSynax*, vol. 2, p. 563 and

the copying of manuscripts, reuse of parchment was quite usual in the medieval world, and this manuscript has evidence of the practice. Towards the end of the *Synaxarion* section of the manuscript, preliminary examination of microfilm indicated clear signs of a palimpsest; in the future, use of ultraviolet light might reveal the earlier text.<sup>37</sup> The clearest examples occur on folios 169r and 169v. On the earlier folio there is a small patch spread over three succeeding lines where what appears to be earlier writing shows up below the later text.<sup>38</sup> On folio 169v there are two notable instances: in the first, two or three letters of the previous writing were left to stand with the new words before and after them;<sup>39</sup> in the second instance we find again a small patch spread over three lines where earlier writing shows up below the current text.<sup>40</sup> Clearly it is the same area of the parchment that was affected on both sides.

In answer to the question whether the codex we now have reflects its original state, Barbara Crostini Lappin, citing codicological evidence and some features of the handwriting, is of the opinion that both documents were written by the same person and were 'the product of a single enterprise.' Furthermore, she is of the view that the present order of the two documents is indeed the original one<sup>41</sup> and refutes Pargoire's suggestion that, although the manuscript was produced by one scribe and the order of the books remained unaltered, it did not reflect the 'normal' order which was found in the model the scribe had copied.<sup>42</sup>

To address the question of the manuscript's date, we need to start by considering the likely year of Timothy's death. Since the *Synaxarion* outlines commemoration services for Timothy on 16 April, we know that by the time its liturgical prescriptions were noted down Timothy was already dead. His commemorations were written out together with those for Paul, the first founder, not added in the margin or inserted in some other casual way. This means that the version of the *Synaxarion* we have in this manuscript was a fresh copy incorporating Timothy into the commemorations of the day.<sup>43</sup> Have we, therefore, any idea of when Timothy died? We know from a note on one manuscript copied at the Evergetis that Timothy was still *hegoumenos* in

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n. 128.

<sup>37</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, pp. 658, n. 10; 660, n. 13; 662, nn. 14 and 15.

<sup>38</sup> See folio 169r, ll. 15, 16, 17.

<sup>39</sup> See the beginning of l. 10 of this folio: ὁ λαὸς ... Ἀμήν.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 38.

<sup>41</sup> See Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', pp. 331–4; 335–9.

<sup>42</sup> Pargoire, 'Evergétis', p. 367.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of the nature of this incorporation see Introduction, B. 9, p. 79 and

n. 216.

February 1067, though living as a recluse;<sup>44</sup> then from another scribal note on a second manuscript we learn that in February 1103 the current *hegoumenos* was Athanasios.<sup>45</sup> Another possible aid to dating is the reference to the monk Anthony in the appendix to the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>46</sup> Crostini Lappin accepted, as do we, Gautier's suggestion that the monk Anthony is John Doukas,<sup>47</sup> and concluded that John joined the community at Evergetis shortly after his final campaign against the Turks in 1097, though a date of c. 1110 has also been suggested.<sup>48</sup> As Anthony was instrumental in a change to Timothy's rule regarding the use of 'a hot drink flavoured with cumin' in place of wine during the first week of Lent, the *Hypotyposis*, as drawn up by Timothy but with the modifications set out in its appendix, must be dated to the period after Anthony's death, as memorial prayers for him are also mentioned in this passage.<sup>49</sup>

In arguing for an early twelfth-century date, Crostini Lappin first assessed the style of the script and the illuminated ornament displayed by the scribe. Gautier himself (along with other scholars) was content with a dating of the twelfth century, but he also noted Otto Kresten's view that it should be dated to c. 1310.<sup>50</sup> In an attempt to settle this difference of opinion, Crostini Lappin outlined the characteristic formation of a wide range of letters, citing parallel examples from a number of other manuscripts.<sup>51</sup> She discussed the motifs, style and composition of the fifteen ornamental headpieces, and also noted that the 'ruling pattern' of Cod. Athen. graec. 788 is identical with that in other notable manuscripts of an early twelfth-century date.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, we should consider why this manuscript was made, as this may also help us to date it. It was a large undertaking and one which would have incurred considerable expense for the monastery. That a fresh copy of the *Synaxarion* was needed at some point is only to be expected given the constant use that it must have had. But why was the *Hypotyposis* added to the project? After all, that part of the manuscript looks much grander both in the style of the writing and in

<sup>44</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 9, n. 18. See also Introduction A. 2: History of the Evergetis Monastery and n. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 9, n. 19.

<sup>46</sup> See Introduction, C. 13: The Final Additions.

<sup>47</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 10–11 with n. 23.

<sup>48</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', p. 346. For the date of c. 1110 for the arrival of John Doukas at Evergetis see Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons', p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> *Hypotyposis*, appendix after ch. 43, p. 213. For further discussion, see Introduction, C. 13, pp. 95–6, and nn. 64 and 65.

<sup>50</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 11 and nn. 24–6; pp. 12–13 and n. 27.

<sup>51</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', pp. 340–342.

<sup>52</sup> Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', pp. 342–5.

the large, highly decorated initial letter. It has a formal and almost ceremonial look. That the model from which it was copied had a similar, if not identical, appearance and style is very likely. But if it was the intention to add a copy of the *Hypotyposis* to what looks rather like a working copy of the *Synaxarion*, why did the scribe consider it necessary to replicate the grand style of its model and not just copy out the wording with suitable headings? It can only be suggested that the *Hypotyposis* (a) was used less often and therefore put after the *Synaxarion* and (b) that it symbolised the ethos and spirit of the foundation and the way of life there, and so it merited a rather more formal presentation. Crostini Lappin has advocated a date around the 1120s or 1130s for the production of this manuscript, a consequence, perhaps, of the patronage of John Doukas.<sup>53</sup> She suggested that he promoted the making of this new copy as a way of ensuring that his own part in enhancing the wealth and property of the community would be remembered. Although there is no doubt that the Evergetis monastery had already found favour with other members of the imperial family, Isaac Komnenos in particular,<sup>54</sup> there is, however, no firm evidence that aristocratic patronage paid for the production of this manuscript.

### 13. The Final Additions

The methods used in the following sections that analyse the text of the *Hypotyposis* can be compared to those employed in archaeology. Archaeologists strip away their chosen site by removing the most recent layers first and continue downwards towards the earliest level. Similar methods have been employed in this case. External evidence drawn from the earliest *typika* which copied material from the *Hypotyposis* and an internal examination of the structure, language and vocabulary of the text itself have both contributed to the picture of additions to, and renewal of, a document that has hitherto been known as Timothy's *Hypotyposis*. As it evolved towards the version found in Cod. Athen. graec. 788, the *Hypotyposis* was never subjected to 'editing' in the modern sense of the word and it is the very inconsistencies in the document which help us to plot its development.

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<sup>53</sup> On the date of John's death (pre 1136) see Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and dating,' p. 346 and nn. 98 and 99. Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons,' p. 54 place his death between 1116 and 1136.

<sup>54</sup> On the *Typikon of Kosmosoteira* and the *Hypotyposis* see Introduction, A. 3 and C. 18: The Influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*.

Gautier believed that Timothy's original document ended with the words 'for ever and ever, amen'.<sup>55</sup> Accompanying this is a doxology, 'Glory to you, O God, glory to you,' written in red ink and set around the 'amen'.<sup>56</sup> Should the doxology be considered as Timothy's composition or not? In the first place the script in red suggests that it was written by the scribe who wrote the chapter titles which are also in that colour, and the alignment of the letters in the doxology is much less accurate than the lines of previous text. The left hand side of the doxology, 'Glory to you, O God,' slopes down to the middle of the line giving the appearance of haste. In the *Typikon* for the Monastery of Phoberos, the copying from the *Hypotyposis* ends with 'for ever and ever, amen' but without the doxology.<sup>57</sup> It seems very likely, therefore, that the short doxology was added to Timothy's text by a scribe, quite possibly in a previous copy as well as in the current manuscript.

After the short doxology, two topics, covering quite different types of subject matter, were added to the *Hypotyposis* at some time after Timothy's death, beginning at the top of a new folio.<sup>58</sup> The first of these concerns the commemorations for Timothy and how they were to be carried out jointly with those for Paul, since both men were said to have died on the same day. Here, as we have seen, reference is made to the *Synaxarion*,<sup>59</sup> which sets out the services of commemoration for the two men on 16 April among all the detailed specifications for the whole year.<sup>60</sup> Thus we can be confident that when this additional paragraph was added to the *Hypotyposis*, a new copy of the *Synaxarion* of the monastery made after Timothy's death was already in use.

<sup>55</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 43, p. 213; Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 91, l. 1324.

<sup>56</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 90, n. 67, see also p. 12, on the colour of the ink. For the positioning of the doxology see R.H. Jordan, *The Hypotyposis of the Theotokos Evergetis and the Making of a Monastic typikon* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1997), p. 22.

<sup>57</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, ch. 59, p. 946. The Slavonic *Typikon* of Chilandar of about 1198/9, a close translation of the *Hypotyposis*, also ends in the same place as the *Phoberos Typikon*.

<sup>58</sup> Folio 221r.

<sup>59</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 91, l. 1333 and *Hypotyposis*, appendix after ch. 43, p. 211.

<sup>60</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16. In detailing the joint services of commemoration for Paul and Timothy the wording in the surviving text of the *Synaxarion* strongly suggests that commemorations for Timothy were added into services of commemoration for Paul, see Introduction B. 8: Fasts, Feasts and Commemorations at the Evergetis, p. 68 and B. 9 p. 79 and n. 216. Hence we can be certain that a previous version of the *Synaxarion* existed after Paul's death and during Timothy's period as *hegoumenos*, then that was updated (but not perfectly) and a new copy made at some point after Timothy's death.

The second additional topic relates a request from the monk *kyr* Anthony to relax one of the restrictions set out in the *Hypotyposis* regarding the consumption of wine on the Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent.<sup>61</sup> In contrast to the previous topic which was set out succinctly, there is much more detail here. The reasons for *kyr* Anthony's request are listed and the author of the paragraph explains the other considerations which were taken into account in granting it. Reading between the lines, it is possible to see a *hegoumenos* put in a difficult position; perhaps there had been discontent among the monks about the unpalatable Lenten cumin drink. Since this particular monk is given the title of *kyr[ios]* or 'Lord', it is clear that he had come into the monastery from the highest levels of society, indeed probably from the imperial family itself. It is likely that further pressure on the *hegoumenos* came from the fact that Anthony had already made donations to the monastery and given it a vineyard.<sup>62</sup> Who was the *hegoumenos* who was persuaded to change the original instructions set out in the *Hypotyposis*? We will probably never discover his identity.

There are some indications that both of these topics were added to the Cod. Athen. graec. 788 version of the *Hypotyposis* at the same time. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that the commemorations for Timothy were already being celebrated along with those for Paul and the cumin drink had already been withdrawn, thus the adding of these two topics to the *Hypotyposis* was a case of regularising existing practice. Firstly, the opening phrase of the second topic, 'In connection with this you must know and observe this also...' suggests that the two topics are linked together in the mind of the person who added them to the *Hypotyposis*; and secondly, after the second topic the final lines of the original document were repeated in order to give the new version of the *Hypotyposis* a fitting ending.<sup>63</sup> Even though the topic of Timothy's commemorations may have been appended in a different form to a previous version of the *Hypotyposis*, the identity of the monk Anthony and his arrival at Evergetis in c. 1110 gives us an approximate date for the change to the rule about the Lenten cumin drink. However, regarding the date of the addition of the two topics to the Cod. Athen. graec. 788 version of the *Hypotyposis*, the following two significant phrases in the wording of the second topic: '...pray unceasingly for the aforementioned man beloved of God ... this benefit which takes place in memory of the aforementioned person...' are significant. They indicate that

<sup>61</sup> Compare Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 41, ll. 460ff with p. 91 ll. 1338ff, and *Hypotyposis*, ch. 10, p. 170 with the appendix after ch. 43.

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of the identity of the monk Anthony see Appendix 4.

<sup>63</sup> The lines are 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 91, ll. 1318–24 repeated at p. 93, ll. 1369–74, *Hypotyposis*, ch. 43 and appendix, pp. 212 and 213, 'The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory ... honour, worship and majesty both now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.'

Anthony was dead when this joint addition was made.<sup>64</sup> As we now know, Anthony died on 5 January in a year between 1116 and 1136. If Anthony was indeed dead before the appendix was added to the *Hypotyposis*, then the version in Athen. graec. 788 would date to c. 1130 or even later.<sup>65</sup>

Immediately underneath the second ending of the *Hypotyposis* and occupying the second, third and fourth lines of folio 222v are three lines of poetry celebrating the end of the task of copying. These lines were written in red, and are almost certainly the work of the scribe of the main text.<sup>66</sup> Finally there is a short paragraph which appears at the bottom of the same folio and is written in a much later style.<sup>67</sup> It records the gift and dedication of 'this book of the *typikon*', by which Cod. Athen. graec. 788 is meant, to the church of the Panagia Petritziotissa by a certain *kyr* Nikephoros in memory of his parents. This donor has not been identified.<sup>68</sup> It is interesting to note that the church in question bears the same dedication as that of the monastery church of Gregory Pakourianos at Bačkovo and it would have been entirely appropriate for the volume to have been deposited there in a community which had been set up in the same period as the monastery of Evergetis.<sup>69</sup>

#### 14. Insertions in the *Hypotyposis*

Although the process of identifying textual insertions is often a subjective one, in the case of the *Hypotyposis* we are fortunate in having to hand an important type of objective evidence. A number of authors of later *typika* copied parts of the *Hypotyposis* text, with varying degrees of accuracy, when compiling their

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<sup>64</sup> It would have been most unusual for monks to be asked to pray for a member of their community if that individual were still alive. See *Hypotyposis*, appendix, p. 213; on the date of the death of the monk Anthony see also Appendix 4 and Crostini Lappin, 'Structure and Dating', p. 346 and nn. 98 and 99. On dating see also Introduction, C. 12, pp. 91–3 above and C. 15, p. 120.

<sup>65</sup> See Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons', p. 54 and n. 53 (above).

<sup>66</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 92, n. 76; for a transcription see Crostini Lappin 'Structure and Dating', Pl. 54(b) and for a translation see *Hypotyposis*, appendix, p. 213. On colophons in manuscripts see K. Treu, 'Der Schreiber am Zeil', *Studia Codicologia*, (1977), pp. 473–92 where a wide selection of them is listed and discussed.

<sup>67</sup> Gautier considered that the style of writing dated to the sixteenth century, see 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 94, n. 77.

<sup>68</sup> Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 94, n. 77.

<sup>69</sup> Gregory Pakourianos founded his monastery in 1083, some thirty years after Paul founded the monastery of Evergetis.



own documents, and so have left us evidence that can be used to tease out some anomalies within the main part of the *Hypotyposis* text as we now have it.

The most important evidence comes from the *Typikon* of John for the Monastery of Phoberos, the first edition of which was written in 1113.<sup>70</sup> So far as we know, John did not visit Evergetis or make a copy of the *Hypotyposis* as it then existed. Nevertheless, it is very clear that he did have a copy in front of him when he was composing his own *Typikon*. He followed the order of his model, copying the text he took over with such accuracy that his *Typikon* contains a number of possible emendations that could well be applied to the published *Hypotyposis* text.<sup>71</sup> As expected, John had to make some adjustments and omissions to allow for the dedication of his monastery being to John the Prodromos (John the Baptist, the 'Forerunner' of Christ) rather than to the Theotokos and for the fact that his monastery did not, of course, share the benefactors named in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>72</sup> He also added a considerable amount of his own material on subjects about which he felt strongly, such as laxity concerning fasting and sexual temptations in monasteries. Furthermore, he inserted frequent, and sometimes lengthy, quotations from the works of such writers as St John Chrysostom, St Basil of Caesarea and St John Klimakos, and incorporated much of a letter by Abba Paul Helladikos.<sup>73</sup>

Another *typikon* written about the same date as that for the Monastery of Phoberos provides more evidence for the *Hypotyposis* text as it existed early in the twelfth century. This was written between 1110 and 1116 by, or more likely for, the Empress Irene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnenos for her Constantinopolitan monastery dedicated to the Theotokos Kecharitomene.<sup>74</sup> The text of this *typikon* indicates that, unlike John, who basically followed the order of the topics in the *Hypotyposis*, adapting, adding and omitting whatever he wished, the compiler of the Kecharitomene *Typikon* was clearly working from more than one *typikon* and the material from the *Hypotyposis* is such that it must have come from an intermediary document rather than directly from the *Hypotyposis* itself.<sup>75</sup> As a result of this relationship, it plays the role of a secondary witness. Some further evidence for the presence of certain topics in

<sup>70</sup> On this see *PhoberosRule*, p. 872 and n. 1.

<sup>71</sup> See R.H. Jordan, 'John of Phoberou: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness', in D.C. Smythe (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot, 2000), 61–73.

<sup>72</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 11, pp. 174–5 and *PhoberosRule*, ch. 32, p. 918, ll. 8–14; *Hypotyposis*, ch. 36, p. 202 and *PhoberosRule*, ch. 50, p. 929, ll. 1–4.

<sup>73</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, ch. 19, p. 904 (John Chrysostom); ch. 14, p. 899 (Basil and John Klimakos); ch. 58, pp. 939–43 with 948, n. 77 (Paul Helladikos).

<sup>74</sup> *KecharitomeneTyp*, for dating see p. 649 and n. 1.

<sup>75</sup> On this see *KecharitomeneTyp*, pp. 651–2.

the *Hypotyposis* can also be found in the *typikon* written in 1152 by, or on the instructions of, Isaac Komnenos for the monastery of Kosmosoteira near Bera.<sup>76</sup> The author of this document probably had a copy of the current *Hypotyposis* to hand but he did not copy nearly as much material as did John and, in many chapters, the text of the *Hypotyposis* was considerably modified.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, the writer lavished praise on the way of life at Evergetis and instructed his monks to follow its *typikon* regarding both their daily conduct and their liturgical routine since it was 'the best possible guide for the benefit of the soul'.<sup>78</sup> With the help of these three *typika* we can thus assess firstly, whether extra text was indeed added to the *Hypotyposis* and, secondly, roughly when such insertions took place.

#### *A. Earlier Insertions: Before c. 1113*

Changes in significant terminology, especially in that used to describe the head of the monastery, immediately arouse a suspicion that there is more than one author at work in the *Hypotyposis* and that additional material may have been inserted in it. This is also the case when the flow of the text switches abruptly to an unconnected topic or when there are conflicting prescriptions within the same paragraph. Such inconsistencies in the text of the *Hypotyposis* have led us to the conclusion that Timothy's document has been altered in a number of places. The dating of these modifications to the *Hypotyposis* relies on the dates of those *typika* which contain material copied from it and in this context the *Typika* of Phoberos and Kecharitomene are highly important witnesses. Any suspected insertion in the *Hypotyposis* also found in these two documents must have been in place by c. 1113, less than 50 years after the last known date at which Timothy was still *hegoumenos* in Evergetis.<sup>79</sup> There are six passages in this category: the first three possible insertions seem to have been prompted by an increase in the size of the monastery; the remainder suggest that rather stricter discipline was being introduced.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See *KosmosoteiraTyp.*

<sup>77</sup> See *KosmosoteiraTyp.* chs 31, p. 815; 33–4, pp. 816–17; 36, p. 817; 43–8, pp. 820–821.

<sup>78</sup> See *KosmosoteiraTyp.* ch. 8, pp. 801–2.

<sup>79</sup> See *EvTyp.* p. 455 and n. 9.

<sup>80</sup> In the extracts, additional words appear in *italics* and omissions are indicated by ...

**Insertion 1***Hypotyposis*, ch. 9<sup>81</sup>

‘that is the *hegoumenos* himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the *aristeterion*...’

*PhoberosRule*, ch. 21<sup>82</sup>

‘that is the *hegoumenos* himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the *aristeterion*...’

*KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 21<sup>83</sup>

‘that is the *hegoumenos* himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the *aristeterion*...’

**Insertion 2***Hypotyposis*, ch. 9<sup>84</sup>

‘I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable...’

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<sup>81</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 35, ll. 343–5.

<sup>82</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 21, p. 908, ll. 36–8.

<sup>83</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 21, p. 810, ll. 35–7. Since the manuscripts of all three *typika* have the extra word for ‘himself’, we have added it to the *Hypotyposis* translation here and below in *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, and to the translation of *KosmosoteiraTyp* here.

<sup>84</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, pp. 35–7, ll. 376–80.

*PhoberosRule*, ch. 22<sup>85</sup>

‘I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave ... the world *and* the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being ... incorrigible...’

*KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 22<sup>86</sup>

‘I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being incorrigible...’

*KecharitomenēTyp*, ch. 42<sup>87</sup>

‘I command in the Lord that *she* be allocated the last place ... but if she should remain ’

In the first set of passages the word *hegoumenos* is used for ‘abbot’, whereas in the previous line and twice more a few lines below we find the word *proestos* being used in the text of all three *typika*. In addition, the word *aristeterion* is used for the only time here; elsewhere *trapeza* appears, as indeed it does immediately before this passage. Thus the linguistic evidence suggests that these lines were inserted by someone other than the person who had written the passages of text immediately before and after them. The circumstances that prompted this likely insertion – the necessity of having two sittings in the *trapeza* – point to a time late in the period of Timothy’s hegoumenate at the very earliest. The use of the

<sup>85</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 22, p. 909, ll. 27–31. One thing of interest is that five words at the end of the *Hypotyposis* extract (‘totally...completely incurable’) are not present in the manuscript of *PhoberosRule* (despite their presence in the published translation) which suggests that they were added by a later *hegoumenos* of Evergetis to reinforce the perceived wickedness of such behaviour. On this see also Later Insertions below, p. 111.

<sup>86</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp* accurately reproduces the *Hypotyposis* text but agrees with *PhoberosRule* in omitting the five words at the end, see *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 22, p. 811, ll. 27–30.

<sup>87</sup> *KecharitomenēTyp* shows a very much modified version of the passage and has no evidence of the five words either, ch. 42, p. 690.

unusual word *aristeterion* for the monastery's *trapeza* possibly indicates one of Timothy's successors rather than Timothy himself.

The second set of passages opens with a direct and strong order from the *hegoumenos* delivered in the first person singular. This contrasts noticeably with the opening of the whole paragraph where we find: 'So *we* completely refuse to speak...' and with the opening of the paragraph following: '*We* do this not through any meanness...' While the switch of person in this particular verb may simply be put down to the need for forceful emphasis, however, set in a wider context and considered alongside the type of monastic life outlined within the document as a whole, this harsh prescription seems rather out of place and may, therefore, indicate an insertion.<sup>88</sup>

These first two insertions appear to be signals of problems that occurred after the monastery gained popularity and the community increased in numbers. In chronological terms such problems could not have come about until comparatively late in the hegoumenate of Timothy, after the monastery had been enlarged and new cells had been built.<sup>89</sup> Maybe the first to occur was a *trapeza* full to bursting point and therefore rather noisy and perhaps at times ill-disciplined, as the second passage indicates, with the result that strict disciplinary action had to be taken. Then at a later stage, despite the long-cherished belief that the whole community should be 'one, being of the same mind, thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another being like a chain of gold, and fitted together into one body',<sup>90</sup> as the *Hypotyposis* puts it, it became necessary without going to the trouble and expense of building a new *trapeza*, of having two sittings at mealtimes.

To decide when these 'new rules' were first made and who brought them in is more difficult. But since the second passage probably addresses the earlier stage of the problem, it is more than likely that this 'new rule' was enacted by Timothy perhaps when he was living as a recluse and after representation by the *trapezarios*. This was, perhaps, a suitable period for him, relieved of the day-to-day management of the community, to be revising the *Hypotyposis*. The direct and forceful language that opens the second passage points, we shall argue, to Timothy and suggests some annoyance. The first passage, however, was a later solution to this problem of numbers and so this particular 'new rule' is more likely to have been brought in by one of Timothy's successors. But introducing 'new rules' does not of itself mean that a new version of the *Hypotyposis* was immediately made. It is more likely that some time elapsed before the current

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<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of verb forms and what they indicate see Introduction, C. 17: A Pauline *Hypotyposis*?

<sup>89</sup> On the development and enlargement of the Evergetis monastery see *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3.

<sup>90</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 15, p. 185.

version of the *Hypotyposis* became noticeably out of date and a new updated one was required. Nevertheless, the second passage was probably present in the *Hypotyposis* that Timothy left to his successors and in due course one of them added the second 'new rule' set out in the first passage and incorporated it into a new copy of the *Hypotyposis*, available in c. 1113 for John of Phoberos to use.

### **Insertion 3**

Chapter 30 of the *Hypotyposis* gives us a third early insertion which made changes to the monastery's administration caused by the increased numbers of monks in the community. In this chapter it is decreed that there were to be three *docheiarioi*: one for sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, another to act as a treasurer of the monastery and the third to look after the storehouse containing the clothing and footwear of the monks. The evidence of the *Typikon* of Phoberos and the *Typikon* of Kosmosoteira clearly shows that this chapter was already present in the *Hypotyposis* when it was being copied. In fact John copied the whole chapter, making only one very small alteration to the wording.<sup>91</sup> However, earlier in the *Hypotyposis*, in Chapter 20, we find that a *single docheiarios* was to be appointed to look after the monastery accounts. As we shall see, the wording and style of Chapter 20 indicate that it formed part of the earliest version of the document,<sup>92</sup> so we can be reasonably sure that the appointment of a single *docheiarios* was the original arrangement for the monastery's financial administration when the community was small. The simplest explanation of the increase from one to three *docheiarioi* is that increased numbers of monks and, perhaps, more property meant that one *docheiarios* was not enough to carry out all the necessary tasks. Since Chapter 20 still remained in the document, it is possible that, by c. 1113, the 'original' *docheiarios* possibly acted as an overall treasurer and accountant of the monastery's finances, being answerable, perhaps, to the *oikonomos*.<sup>93</sup> That kind of a role is hinted at by the remains of Chapter 20 which appear in two of the earliest *typika* that have material copied from the *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>91</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 47, p. 925; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 36, p. 817.

<sup>92</sup> See Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>93</sup> For the duties of the *docheiarios*, see Introduction, B. 5.

*Hypotyposis*, ch. 20<sup>94</sup>

... who looks after the income and expenditure of the monastery to record everything in detail, in the case of the income from where it came and when and in the case of the expenditure the reason for it and on what project, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone.

*PhoberosRule*, ch. 38

... by the one who is managing the income and expenditure at the time, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone.

*KecharitomenēTyp*, ch. 21

...to list ... in detail, how much and when and from where, ... if she is going to ensure her office is free from blame and scandal, and to inform them all...

The authors of the later *typika* obviously thought that a greater number of *docheiarioi* was necessary for the smooth running of their own communities and simply made use of the wording about the single *docheiarios* in general prescriptions for the financial administration of their own houses.

We turn now from early additions brought about by increased numbers of monks to more serious matters of community discipline.

**Insertion 4**

This possible early insertion appears in the latter part of a very important chapter in the *Hypotyposis* that establishes the independence of the monastery. Following the evidence of the *Typikon* of Phoberos we should consider that the first part of this section in the *Hypotyposis* down to ‘...and on our children, because’ comes from an early version of the document. The reasons for invoking the curse presented in the three versions, however, show interesting differences.

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<sup>94</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 65, ll. 869–72.



*Hypotyposis*, ch. 12<sup>95</sup>

...and let him inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers and become joint-heir with the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” and “his blood be on us and on our children”, because this wretched person has treated wretchedly something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil and set up to be free by those very people who established it, placing it with malicious and deceitful intent, perhaps under the power of corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.

Not only this but that thrice-wretched, thrice-accursed one, whoever he might be has trampled underfoot and counted as nothing the crosses of the emperors of everlasting memory which they with pious intent inscribed upon their chrysobulls when granting independence to the monastery. Will he not be called to account, no matter what his subsequent conduct may be? So then those should be the principles established in this way.

*PhoberosRule*, ch. 33<sup>96</sup>

... and let him inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers and become joint-heir with the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” and “his blood be on us and on our children”, because *the various charistikarioi reduced to nothing the monastery which was once great and famous and admired, for as many as 170 monks, as we have learned from those who know accurately and were practising the religious life here at that time.*

<sup>95</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Theotokos Evergétis’, p. 47, ll. 555–67.

<sup>96</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 33, p. 918.

*Kecharitomene*Typ, ch. 1<sup>97</sup>

... and *subject* to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers ... because of the fact that out of a fervent heart and faith we established a convent from a very small part of the benefits conferred on us by the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and we entrusted it to the authority and power of our Mother of God *Kecharitomene* herself, wishing it to be independent from simply everyone. This that wretched person wretchedly planned with malicious intent to place under the power of persons who are perhaps corrupt and wicked and who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.

In the *Hypotyposis* two reasons are stated: (i) the ruination of all the efforts of 'those very people who established' the monastery, and (ii) the total disregard of the chrysobulls granted to the monastery by a number of emperors. Clearly it was appropriate for the authors of the later *typika* to insert reasons more applicable to their individual situations and, in the case of the Monastery of Phoberos, John converted the 'corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain', into a reference to the *charistikarioi* who had brought his monastery to ruin. Irene Doukaina, however, in the *Typikon* of *Kecharitomene*, maintained the 'corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain' as one of her reasons. In addition there are two interesting linked phrases forming part of that reason in the *Hypotyposis*: '...something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil and set up to be free by those very people who established it'. So the question is this: who are the 'very people who established it'? Were they Paul and Timothy? In which case, this part of the insertion must have been made by Timothy's successor(s). Otherwise we are left to assume that 'those very people' were Paul and the few monks who came at the beginning and no doubt had to work very hard to set up the monastery. Furthermore, it is clear that 'something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil and set up to be free by those very people who established it' in the *Hypotyposis* prompted Irene to allude to her own wealth and exalted position. In her *Typikon*, we find 'out of a fervent heart and faith we established a convent from a very small part of the benefits conferred on us by the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*' thereby turning the 'sweat and toil' at the Evergetis into imperial fervour of heart and faith and Paul's 'farm' into one benefit conferred on Irene by the Mother of God.

<sup>97</sup> *Kecharitomene*Typ, ch. 1, p. 668.

The second reason in the *Hypotyposis* for an individual to be cursed relates to a disregard of the chrysobulls and the crosses inscribed on them and begins with the phrase ‘Not only this’, hinting that what follows could be a separate insertion added at a later date. The lack of any evidence of Timothy’s writing style in its language and the fact that neither the *Typikon* of Phoberos nor that of Kecharitomene contains any vestige of it, add some support to such a view. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that this section is a rhetorical culmination of the passage, building on the earlier mentioned disregard for human efforts and adding what would seem far worse, namely, the ‘trampling’ on sacred symbols inscribed in the imperial documents that were so greatly valued by monasteries.

### *Insertion 5*

The second part of the final sentence of *Hypotyposis* Chapter 17 indicates that there is going to be an addition with ‘...but I will add to what has been said another small bit which is both useful and very necessary’. That clause is neatly tacked on to an internal divider in the document that brings the section concerning the appointment of *begoumenoi* and *oikonomoi* to a close.<sup>98</sup> The whole addition which comprises Chapter 18 is brought to a close in the *Hypotyposis* text at the end of the chapter with the sentence: ‘It is most necessary that these things be added to what has already been said.’

### *Hypotyposis*, chs 17–18<sup>99</sup>

‘... “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are”... but I will add to what has been said another small bit which is both very useful and very necessary. The brothers will not question their *begoumenoi*, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin. But neither will the *kathegoumenoi* themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favours for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries in the Holy Spirit ... until they refrain from such an action.’

<sup>98</sup> On internal dividers see B. 16: *The Hypotyposis: An Earlier Structure*.

<sup>99</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, pp. 61–3, ll. 812–37. The heading of Chapter 18 is omitted here.

*PhoberosRule*, chs 36–7<sup>100</sup>

‘...“God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are”. The brothers will not question their *hegoumenoi*, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin. But neither will the *kathegoumenoi* themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favours for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries in the Holy Spirit, until they refrain from such an action.’

In the *Phoberos* text, however, John did not copy the internal dividers, the words that introduced the passage and those that brought it to an end. But he added to the end of his chapter the short phrase, ‘until they refrain from such an action’, which came from near the end of Chapter 18 in the *Hypotyposis*. That raises the possibility that the *Phoberos* version reflects the original form of this insertion, especially as the introductory phrase in the *Hypotyposis* states that it was going to be ‘a small bit’, and then a second, later insertion was put into the text after ‘...in the Holy Spirit’. One clue to a possible author of the early insertion is provided by the introductory phrase in the *Hypotyposis* version including the words ‘I will add’, for the use of the first person singular can, in many, if not most cases, be attributed to Timothy.<sup>101</sup> The second part of this insertion into the *Hypotyposis* text, which John does not appear to have copied, will be discussed in the next part of this section.<sup>102</sup>

### Insertion 6

The sixth of the early insertions for which John provides firm evidence (see below) concerns the reading of the *Hypotyposis* in the *trapeza*. If we ignore the title of Chapter 43 and look at the final sentences of Chapter 42, it is clear that the author is very close to the end of his conclusion<sup>103</sup> and we would not expect a further instruction to be set down. The final sentence of Chapter 42, indeed, would find a rather more appropriate follow-up in ‘The God of peace who called

<sup>100</sup> *PhoberosRule*, chs 36–7, p. 922, ll. 10–20 with omission of chapter title; John omitted the previous divider and the introduction to this topic. This passage does not appear in *KosmosoteiraTyp* or *KecharitomeneTyp*.

<sup>101</sup> On this see Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>102</sup> See Later Insertions 4, below.

<sup>103</sup> See also the final sentence of *Hypotyposis*, ch. 40, p. 208.

us to his eternal glory, through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you...' which introduces the final sentence of the whole document.

*Hypotyposis*, ch. 43<sup>104</sup>

'I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.'

*PhoberosRule*, ch. 59<sup>105</sup>

'I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, *until it is finished*, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from our fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.'

*KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 59<sup>106</sup>

'You *should* also read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, to remind you of your instruction, and for the benefit of your souls.'

In the wording of this possible insertion we find, first of all, the introductory verb in its first person singular form and then the author of the passage reappears in the phrase 'paying back to *me* in the Lord'. That contrasts with the final sentence of Chapter 42 where we find 'and *our* insignificance, do not forget *us* in your prayers'. The more direct language in the instruction on reading the *Hypotyposis*

<sup>104</sup> For the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 91, ll. 1313–18.

<sup>105</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, ch. 59, p. 946, ll. 8–12.

<sup>106</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp* has a rather shorter version, see ch. 59, p. 825, ll. 21–3. *KecharitomeneTyp* does not include any of this passage.

almost certainly indicates that Timothy was its author.<sup>107</sup> The *Typikon* of Kosmosoteira shows by its wording that it, too, is drawing on this passage from the *Hypotyposis*. So far we have examined the probable insertions which were early enough to find their way into the *Typika* of Phoberos, Kecharitomene and Kosmosoteira. The language in which they are couched suggests that all but one were inserted by Timothy into a previous document; just one (A 1) was possibly inserted later and thus was the work of one of Timothy's successors. Now we address six passages which do not appear in John's *Typikon* for Phoberos and therefore were possibly added to the *Hypotyposis* after c. 1113.

### *B. Later Insertions: After c. 1113*

#### ***Insertion 1***

The final paragraph of *Hypotyposis* Chapter 13, as it currently stands, gives the impression of having been tacked onto what was already a finished topic. The three words that come immediately before it are one of the dividers that indicated the end of a topic in the original structure of the document. If anything, this paragraph would be more suitable as the opening paragraph to Chapter 14, since it explains in considerable detail why it is conceivable, even in such a place as a monastery, that someone who had been selected as *oikonomos* because of his virtuous way of life might later change and have to be removed. Since John of Phoberos also left out the previous parts of Chapter 13 describing the ceremonies for installing both the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos*, it is difficult to decide whether this particular paragraph was in the *Hypotyposis* as he saw it. We need to look for more evidence. Isaac's *Typikon* for Kosmosoteira has no evidence of this paragraph either. However, much of this paragraph appears accurately copied in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene, though significantly the simile about the octopuses is missing.

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<sup>107</sup> On language differences between Timothy and Paul see Introduction, C. 17.

*Hypotyposis*, ch. 13<sup>108</sup>

What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact we remained unchanged and completely unmoved in our adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honour we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the success it brings, and then when we have gained it we are immediately found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognisable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.

*KecharitomenēTyp*, ch. 13<sup>109</sup>

What *is about to be said next concerning the one who will be superior after our death and those who will be mothers superior after her*, I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from *this* position and rank someone who has previously been selected for *this*. *Also* this would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact *our nature had been* unchanging and ... immutable ..., but *since* that is impossible – for *later* we change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honour we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it, whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence – ... for these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.

In view of this evidence, however awkwardly the paragraph seems to sit in the document, it has to be accepted that it was present in some form in the *Hypotyposis* in c. 1113. One might, indeed, argue that, in view of the very close

<sup>108</sup> For the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', p. 51, ll. 644–58.

<sup>109</sup> See *KecharitomenēTyp*, ch. 13, p. 676, ll. 28–38.



and accurate copying evident in Irene's *Typikon* at this point, the passage on the octopuses was, in fact, itself a later insertion in the *Hypotyposis* and that the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene has preserved the earlier version.

### Insertion 2

Buried in *Hypotyposis* Chapter 14 is a passage which does not appear in the *Typikon* of Phoberos and yet seems to connect comfortably with what immediately precedes it.<sup>110</sup> It also contains an interesting phrase which is also present in another chapter of the *Hypotyposis* as we have it, but is not found in the Phoberos *Typikon* in a similar context.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, there is a link between the two instances of this phrase, namely, a reference to someone who is not behaving as he should. In Chapter Nine of the *Hypotyposis* it is the brother who will not accept the place allotted to him in the *trapeza* and continues to argue about it; here it is the problem of a bad *oikonomos*.

#### *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14

... and it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the leadership of this worthless man, than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord and quarrelling or even the remembering of injuries. For if you are living in peace and preserving good order, it is impossible that even a little harm should come to you from the leadership of this worthless man. But if you indulge in discord and quarrelling, every evil will follow.

But so that he too, when he has satisfied his wish by seizing authority, may not become careless and remain completely incorrigible and totally incurable, we must not overlook the following either.

#### *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9<sup>112</sup>

... he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable...

<sup>110</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, p. 183; for the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 53, ll. 687–94. Although somewhat patchy copying from the first paragraph of this chapter appears in *KosmosoteiraTyp* it does not extend to the passage under consideration here. *KecharitomeneTyp* does not have this passage.

<sup>111</sup> The phrase is: ἀδιόρθωτος ἔλως μέντοι καὶ πάμπαν ἀνίατος ('remain completely incorrigible and totally incurable'); see also nn. 85 and 87 above.

<sup>112</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 9, p. 167; for the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 35–7, ll. 378–80.

The presence of the identical phrase in two passages similar in content is significant, especially since it is missing in the text taken by John from Chapter Nine of the *Hypotyposis*. Secondly, the chapter in the *Typikon* of Phoberos<sup>113</sup> equivalent to Chapter 14 of the *Hypotyposis* is made up entirely of text taken from the *Hypotyposis*, without any additional wording to cover over possible joins, and presents a rather more straightforward set of guidelines for the appointment of an *oikonomos* and his elevation to the position of *hegoumenos*. In view of such evidence it is certainly possible, if not likely, that what we find in the Phoberos *Typikon* was the text that John found in Timothy's *Hypotyposis* in c. 1113 and that the passage in Chapter 14 of the *Hypotyposis* was inserted by a later *hegoumenos* of the Evergetis, who also possibly inserted the repeated phrase into Chapter 9.

### **Insertion 3**

In the *Typikon* for Phoberos, John concludes the election of the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos* with the short paragraph on the treatment of a deposed *hegoumenos* and then moves on directly to the subject of the brothers' first confession to their new *hegoumenos*.<sup>114</sup> In doing so he omitted, or possibly did not find, the long concluding paragraph of Chapter 14 in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>115</sup>

### *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14<sup>116</sup>

Well then, I entreat you, my beloved children in the Lord, I entreat you or rather I instruct you and I call on God as witness of my instruction and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are examining and selecting the *proestotes* and *oikonomoi*, for my instruction again is addressed to you who are chosen for this task, there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favouritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together as if he was observing you, he the eye 'that beholdeth all things' and 'searcheth hearts and reins'.

<sup>113</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 35.

<sup>114</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 35, p. 920, ll. 6–10.

<sup>115</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, pp. 183–4; for the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 55–7, ll. 708–33.

<sup>116</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 14, pp. 183–4; for the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 55, ll. 708–16.

*KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 42

But I beseech all of you monks, O heaven-guided gathering, before God the Ruler of All and his all-immaculate Mother who is the *ephoros* of the monastery, to banish all strife from your thinking soul, and, of course, the devil's envy, [the devil] who hung even the Lord our Creator up on the Wood (what a sight!) – I mean at the time when the superior or the steward is to be chosen. I want the candidates to be chosen by an honest judgment, not on the basis of vain partiality or some irrational favouritism, nor out of any fraudulent conscience... the Ruler of all on high, "searching the hearts and reins"...

However, in *KosmosoteiraTyp* we discover a paragraph which has a slight but definite relationship to the opening section of the missing paragraph.<sup>117</sup> Just on the basis of that evidence one might argue that this paragraph was inserted into the *Hypotyposis* between c. 1113 and c. 1150. However, closer inspection of the language and its style makes such a suggestion less convincing. In the first place, the style is like that of a monastic *katechesis*, but one that is clearly directed by the *hegoumenos* at the senior office-bearing monks who were empowered to put forward their agreed choice for appointment as *oikonomos*. Secondly, the linguistic forms, especially those of the verbs and the use of the word *proestos*, are indicators of the oldest parts of the document.<sup>118</sup> On balance, therefore, it seems more likely to have been present in the *Hypotyposis* for John to copy in c. 1113 but after reading it through John decided not to use it.

**Insertion 4**

Chapter 18 of the *Hypotyposis* deals with two related matters: (a) that brothers were not to question their *hegoumenoi* about the income and expenditure of the monastery; (b) that *kathegoumenoi* should not be spending the monastery's money for the benefit of their relatives and friends. In the *Typikon* of Phoberos, we find that John copied word for word the opening section which sets out these two prohibitions,<sup>119</sup> but what follows in the *Hypotyposis*<sup>120</sup> is missing until we reach the final short clause.<sup>121</sup> The missing passage is linguistically most

<sup>117</sup> See *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 42, p. 819, ll. 25–33.

<sup>118</sup> On this see Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>119</sup> On this see also Early Insertions, A. 5 and *PhoberosRule*, chs 36–7, p. 922, ll. 14–20.

<sup>120</sup> 'For if we have judged that they should not be subject ... but spend the wealth of the monastery improperly, they will be excommunicated...'; for the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 61–3, ll. 828–37.

<sup>121</sup> The final clause which John attached to the long opening section is: '...until they refrain from such an action' and should have been printed in bold type in the translation of *PhoberosRule*

interesting in that it has a number of features that mark out the earliest version of the Evergetis *Typikon*. Among those we see the important verbs with the first person plural ending – ‘we have judged ... we are not capable ... we confer in writing...’ and the use of the gerund in ‘they should take care’ – which, we contend, indicate the authorship of Paul. But, in contrast, in the first section of the chapter, the nouns *begoumenoi* and in particular *kathegoumenoi* are used rather than *proestos*, indications of Timothy’s hand.<sup>122</sup> Also, whereas the second part addresses the topic in more generalised terms, the first part lays down the instructions in very direct and firm language. Based on this evidence we suggest that what purports to be a later insertion seems more likely to have been some of the original material preceded by a small early insertion of firm and clear instruction, the whole topic being given a brief introduction and ending.<sup>123</sup> If that is the case, then John simply excised the second part of the topic as he found it, using part of the final sentence proper (‘until they refrain from such action’) as his conclusion.

### *Insertion 5*

At the end of Chapter 39 of the *Hypotyposis* is a short paragraph totally unconnected with the subject matter of the rest of the chapter.<sup>124</sup> It concerns the possible future appointment of monks to other offices within the monastery as the occasion arises.

### *Hypotyposis*, ch. 39

Regarding other offices, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands and if there is urgent need; for then they [the offices] will be beneficial and be connected to the maintenance of the monastery.

in *BMFD*.

<sup>122</sup> On the linguistic evidence, see Introduction, C. 17.

<sup>123</sup> Some support for this view can be found in *MamasTyp*, ch. 44, p. 1023, ll. 19–32, where both sections are found and the first section opens in a rather more considerate style. The chapter as a whole is clearly based on the *Hypotyposis* but how far it has been altered is very hard to determine as it was taken from an intermediary *typikon*, see n. 126.

<sup>124</sup> For the text, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 83, ll. 1201–4.

This seems quite out of place seeing that the section of the document dealing with such matters came to an end with Chapter 34. The only later *typikon* containing this portion of text is that for the Monastery of St Mamas.<sup>125</sup>

*MamasTyp*, ch. 14

Regarding other offices, *too*, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands, *if the monastery should perhaps expand by the will of God* and there is urgent need.

As the *Typikon* for St Mamas was compiled from a number of other *typika* including the *Hypotyposis*, but the latter probably via the lost *Typikon* of Philanthropos,<sup>126</sup> we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that this short passage was indeed in the *Hypotyposis* in c. 1113, yet since no hint of it appears in any of the early borrowing *typika*, it seems most likely that this is a later insertion into the document.

**Insertion 6**

The final insertion of note concerns Chapter 40 of the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>127</sup> One feature of the document that has frequently drawn comment is the presence of no less than five exhortations.<sup>128</sup> Of these the first three are specifically directed at certain members of the community – the brothers in general, the *proestos* and all those who hold offices inside or outside the monastery. The final two exhortations are directed to everyone. But why are there two?

When we look for evidence of the exhortation from Chapter 40 in the later *typika* that contain material taken from the *Hypotyposis*, we find only a very few scrappy hints of it buried in the thirteenth-century *Typikon* for the Monastery of Machairas in Cyprus.<sup>129</sup> As no earlier copying from Chapter 40 seems to have

<sup>125</sup> *MamasTyp*, ch. 14, p. 1004, ll. 21–4. The *typikon* for the re-foundation of this monastery was written in 1158.

<sup>126</sup> On the sources of this *typikon* see *MamasTyp*, pp. 975–7; 990. For a recent brief summary of the case for the *Typikon* of Philanthropos being the model for that of St Mamas see D. Krausmüller, *Saints' Lives and typika: The Constantinopolitan Monastery of Panagiu in the Eleventh Century* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 2001), p. 137, n. 122.

<sup>127</sup> For the text, see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 83–7, ll. 1208–45. The final sentence of the chapter should be discounted since it is really a type of divider.

<sup>128</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, chs 16, p. 186; 17, pp. 187–8; 33, pp. 198–200; 40, pp. 207–8; 42, pp. 209–10.

<sup>129</sup> See *MachairasRule*, ch. 139, p. 1159, ll. 11–14.

taken place, so far as our available evidence shows, and the Phoberos *Typikon* indicates that John's copying omitted Chapter 40 and began again at the beginning of Chapter 41,<sup>130</sup> we can deduce that Chapter 40 of the *Hypotyposis* was a later insertion into the document by one of Timothy's successors.

In fact, only one sentence of Chapter 40 of the *Hypotyposis* as we now have it was in the early version and that is the final sentence. This sentence gives the reader a plan of the remainder of the document, indicating that the author will deal with 'one more matter' and then bring the *Hypotyposis* to a conclusion. However, this plan was not realised. The 'one more matter' concerns the infirmary and the sick and what was supposed to be the conclusion, namely, Chapter 42, is prevented from being the conclusion by adding a passage about the reading of the *Typikon* in the *trapeza* as a further chapter.<sup>131</sup> Since John of Phoberos wished to insert into his document an additional topic regarding sexual temptations, he moved the final sentence of *Hypotyposis* Chapter 40 to the end of his next chapter on the infirmary.<sup>132</sup> Then, in the Phoberos *Typikon*, after the additional material, the text that John copied from Chapters 42 and 43 of the *Hypotyposis*, ignoring the chapter title, makes up a single undivided chapter with which he brings his *Typikon* proper to an end at the same place as the *Hypotyposis* without its appendix.

Any composition can be revised by its author in response to changing circumstances and, as far as we can see, Timothy did make insertions into the text of the *Hypotyposis* at some point after he had drawn it up. Whether he made any excisions we shall never know. But of all the later additions Chapter 40 is the clearest proof that monastic *begoumenoi* had no compunction in inserting anonymously whatever they felt was important to the way of life within the community into what was the accepted composition of a revered predecessor. In this case, without the witness of the later *typika*, especially the Phoberos *Typikon*, we would have been far less certain about such modifications to the *Hypotyposis*.

The evidence provided so far by the *typika* which contain text taken from the *Hypotyposis*, especially that of the Monastery of Phoberos, indicates that the *Hypotyposis* text as we have it is not a completely homogeneous composition and revisions were made to it both before c. 1113, when John composed his *Typikon* for Phoberos, and at some later point. The earlier revisions (A 2, 3, 5, 6) suggest that Timothy either made alterations to a document that he had already written

<sup>130</sup> The sequence of material in John's *Typikon* based on chs 39–41 from the *Hypotyposis* is at this point continuous, copying ch. 39 meticulously but omitting the second paragraph, omitting ch. 40 and going on immediately with ch. 41.

<sup>131</sup> On this see Early Insertions, A 6. On chapters and their titles see also Introduction, C. 15.

<sup>132</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, ch. 56, p. 937, l. 36 where it should have been set in bold type.

or to one that he had inherited from his predecessor. The other revisions (A 1, 4, B 1, 2, 6) were probably made at some time after the death of Timothy by one of his successors, but precisely when is impossible to say. However, in the next section, overwhelming evidence will come to light that one of Timothy's successors in fact effected a major change by recasting the whole document. That *hegoumenos* could well have been responsible also for making some, if not all, of the post-Timothy insertions into the text at the same time.

## 15. The *Hypotyposis*: Chapters and their Titles<sup>133</sup>

In this section we compare the chapter-divisions and their titles in the present *Hypotyposis* with those in the *Typikon* of Phoberos for further important evidence about the evolving structure and authorship of the text. More than a century ago, Pargoire suggested that the titles of six chapters in the *Hypotyposis* were not in the original version of the text.<sup>134</sup> In them, Timothy is referred to in the third person, whereas throughout the main body of the text Timothy refers to himself in the first person. The six chapters listed by Pargoire are: 1, 3, 14, 32, 40, and 42. The titles commented upon by Pargoire are as follows:

*The Main Title*: Explanation and *hypotyposis* for the life of the monks in the Monastery of the most Holy Mother of God Evergetis handed down by Timothy the monk and priest who became *kathegoumenos* after the founder of the same monastery.

*Title of Chapter Three*: Concerning the date of the death of our holy father the first founder, and that in his will he left the monastery in a meagre form to our holy father *kyr* Timothy its second founder, and that he established it in its present magnificent form; also concerning his acquisitions.

*Title of Chapter 14*: Concerning the reasons laid down by the founder for the steward to be removed and another worthy person installed.

*Title of Chapter 32*: Concerning the fact that those who carry out their offices devoutly and with care should be left unchanged, but those who perform them in a deceitful and careless manner should be removed and others appointed, and the founder's curse rests on those who appropriate anything as a result of their offices.

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<sup>133</sup> For a detailed examination of the chapter titles see Jordan, *The Hypotyposis*, ch. 4; Robert Jordan, 'The *Hypotyposis* of Evergetis: A Unitary Text?', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 230–49, pp. 235–8.

<sup>134</sup> Pargoire, 'Evergetis', p. 158.



*Title of Chapter 40:* An exhortation from the founder to everyone, namely the *begoumenos*, the *oikonomos* and the brothers, to keep unbroken all the regulations in this his *typikon*.

*Title of Chapter 42:* A further exhortation from the founder.

If these six chapter titles were not originally in the *Hypotyposis* as it was drawn up by Timothy, what of the remaining ones? To seek evidence on the chapter titles as a whole we must turn again to the *Typikon* of Phoberos (c. 1113).<sup>135</sup> The degree of dependency on Timothy's *Hypotyposis* displayed by John's *Typikon* for Phoberos has long been recognised, and a comparison of those passages where the copying is virtually wholesale raises immediate questions concerning the respective chapter titles. For if John copied so much, at times in such large quantities, it might be expected that he would, firstly, have taken over many Evergetis chapter titles and, secondly, have followed, to some extent at least, the Evergetis chapter divisions. But these two things clearly did not happen.<sup>136</sup> Firstly, not a single chapter title in the text of the Phoberos *Typikon* is identical to the corresponding title in the *Hypotyposis*. A few are similar, which is hardly surprising seeing that the chapters concerned deal with the same topics and most, if not all, of the actual content is copied from one to the other. But it is clear that the wording of the chapter titles in the Phoberos *Typikon* did not come from Timothy's *Hypotyposis*.<sup>137</sup> Secondly, some chapters of the Phoberos *Typikon* begin at a number of places part-way through a chapter of the *Hypotyposis*.

The following sets of chapter numbers are of those chapters which correspond to each other and begin with the same words of text:

<i>Hypotyposis</i>	<i>PhoberosRule</i>	<i>Hypotyposis</i>	<i>PhoberosRule</i>
4	9	5	11
6	12	8	16
9	20	11	32
12	33	13	34
18	37	19	38
21	39	22	41
23	42	24	43
26	45	28	46
29	47	31	48
34	49	37	51
38	54		

<sup>135</sup> For John's foundation and *Typikon* see *PhoberosRule*, p. 879, n. 1.

<sup>136</sup> For further discussion, see Jordan, 'Hypotyposis of Evergetis: A Unitary Text?.'

<sup>137</sup> For detailed linguistic comparison see Jordan, *The Hypotyposis*, pp. 52–4.

Despite beginning each of these chapters at the point where there is a new chapter in the *Hypotyposis*, John did not copy a single title to go with them. This surely indicates that there were no titles present in the text of the *Hypotyposis* that he saw.

Other chapters in the Phoberos *Typikon* begin at a number of places part-way through the Greek text of the corresponding chapter in the *Hypotyposis*. This might be (A) at a comma, (B) at a raised dot, (C) at a full stop or (D) at a new paragraph. Below is an analysis of the different commencements found in the Phoberos *Typikon*.<sup>138</sup>

A

<i>PhoberosRule</i> chapters 10, 13, 27, 28, 40	at a comma in <i>Hypotyposis</i> (' <i>Théotokos Evergétis</i> ', ll. 141, 219, 438, 442, 889)
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B

<i>PhoberosRule</i> chapters 15, 23, 55, 59	at a raised dot in <i>Hypotyposis</i> (' <i>Théotokos Evergétis</i> ', ll. 314, 403, 1184, 1271)
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C

<i>PhoberosRule</i> chapters 14, 29, 36, 50, 52, 56	at the full stop in <i>Hypotyposis</i> (' <i>Théotokos Evergétis</i> ', ll. 243, 509, 749, 1067, 1135, 1250)
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D

<i>PhoberosRule</i> chapters 21, 22, 26, 30, 35, 53	at the new paragraph in <i>Hypotyposis</i> (' <i>Théotokos Evergétis</i> ', ll. 337, 364, 430, 518, 605, 1137)
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This evidence makes it clear that there was no formal chapter division in the version of the *Hypotyposis* that John was copying and so he devised his own, based on the subject and the material he was setting out.

From the evidence on chapter titles and chapter divisions we can conclude:

<sup>138</sup> Basic Greek punctuation is similar to that in English with the raised dot equivalent to the English semicolon. Chs 1–8, 17–19, 31, 57–8 of *PhoberosRule* all begin with new material and so are discounted from the above tables.

- (i) that the version of Timothy's *Hypotyposis* copied by John for his *Typikon* had no chapter titles at all;
- (ii) that John created 59 chapters himself from a mixture of copied and new material;
- (iii) that he divided up the text to a significant extent on the basis of certain other indicators in the *Hypotyposis* text<sup>139</sup> and added his own titles;
- (iv) that the titles which we find in the surviving text of the *Hypotyposis* were added to a previous version and were composed from the words and phrases already existing within the chapters.

These conclusions have important implications for the dating of the *Hypotyposis* as it now stands. John was clearly working in c. 1113 from an early version of the *Hypotyposis* without chapter divisions. Thus the version of the document in Cod. Athen. graec. 788 must have been through a serious revision *after* that date, a revision which included not just the division into chapters and the addition of their titles, but also, as we have seen, the insertion of what is now Chapter 40 and a few other sections.<sup>140</sup> Since this chapter also has its own title, it must have been inserted into the document either before or at the time of the division into chapters. Clearly it is impossible to give a firm date for this particular revision process or to suggest under which *hegoumenos* it took place. All we can be sure about is that it must have been carried out under one of Timothy's successors. Then, after the division into chapters had been completed and Chapter 40 had been inserted at some point, the two paragraphs concerning the commemorations for Timothy and the change to the prescriptions on the cumin drink were created to close the document as we now have it. Thus the alterations to the *Hypotyposis* after John had made his copy c. 1113 would, in our view, confirm the date of the existing document to c. 1130 or even later.<sup>141</sup>

## 16. The *Hypotyposis*: An Earlier Structure<sup>142</sup>

We need to consider the possibility that, at an earlier stage, the text of the *Hypotyposis* already had a structure with certain divisions and subdivisions on which the present chapters have been imposed. For if the text as written by Timothy did *not* have chapters, how then was the text divided up? Did it have any structure at all? The first indication of a structure in the mind of an

<sup>139</sup> See Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>140</sup> On these later insertions see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>141</sup> On the dating of the *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, C. 13, pp. 95–6.

<sup>142</sup> See also Jordan, 'Hypotyposis of Evergetis: A Unitary Text?', pp. 238–41.

author appears early in Chapter One. Here he sets out the broad outline of his document with these words:

...to set down in writing the nature and extent of all your holy liturgical procedure, and when and how you must carry it out ... and not just that but to describe all the rest of your way of life – that is, that which concerns both the soul itself and the body...<sup>143</sup>

In other words, the document has, apart from what is essentially a prologue (A), two broad sections: the first (B) concerning the ‘soul’ describes the liturgical procedure in general terms,<sup>144</sup> and the second (C) concerning the ‘body’ sets out various more secular aspects of communal life within the community and the monastery’s dealings with the outside world. In addition, whoever divided the document up into chapters and gave them titles fortunately did not systematically remove the existing short sentences or phrases marking the end of a topic (the ‘dividers’) from the text, with the result that we can still discern the earlier structure buried within the present document. Who might we suppose was the author of this earlier version of the *Hypotyposis*? Since the document carries in its main title Timothy’s name, he, rather than any of his successors, is the obvious candidate.

After identifying where these dividing phrases are situated, it is possible to reconstruct the previous structure of the *Hypotyposis* as follows:<sup>145</sup>

(A) *The Prologue and Introduction*<sup>146</sup>

- (a) Chapters 1–3: ending just before the invocation to God and the Theotokos

(B) *The Liturgical Section*<sup>147</sup>

- (a) Chapter 3: the invocation of God and the Theotokos
- (b) Chapters 3 and 4: the final paragraph of Chapter 3 and the whole of Chapter 4 describing the procedure for the First, Third and Sixth Hours
- (c) Chapter 5: the Divine Liturgy

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<sup>143</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 1, pp. 147–8.

<sup>144</sup> The detailed instructions for each day and each service appear in the *Synaxarion*, the liturgical *typonikon*. On this see *EvSynax*.

<sup>145</sup> It is important, at this stage, to ignore the chapter titles in the present version of the document.

<sup>146</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 1–3, pp. 147–51.

<sup>147</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 3–8, pp. 151–64.

(d) Chapter 6: the Ninth Hour, *Hesperinon*, *Pannychis*, *Mesonyktika* and *Orthros*

At the end of subsection (b) the following sentence appears: 'So the ritual of the Third, Sixth and First Hours should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.' At the end of subsection (c) the following short sentence appears: 'So let these things be carried out in this way.' Subsection (d) and, in fact, the whole section on liturgical procedure concludes with the following sentence: 'That constitutes the pattern of your daily office.'

(e) Chapter 7: confession

This section ends with the following short sentence: 'These things should be so.'

(f) Chapter 8: fasts and vigils

This chapter is itself merely a short note, perhaps a postscript to the preceding sections, directing readers to the *Synaxarion* for detailed specifications for fasts and vigils.

(C) *Community Life*<sup>148</sup>

### ***Food, Fasts and Feasts***

(a) first paragraph of Chapter 9: introduction to topics concerning the body

(b) remainder of Chapter 9: food on ordinary days, behaviour and seating in the *trapeza*

(c) Chapter 10: food during Lent and the other two fasts<sup>149</sup>

Subsection (b) ends with the following short sentence: 'So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.' The three subsidiary titles within subsection (c) ('Concerning the eating of fish during the great Lent and the feast of the Annunciation', 'Concerning the Annunciation and its feast', 'Concerning the two short fasts, that of the Holy Apostles and that of Christmas') are later additions to the *Hypotyposis*, probably inserted at the same time as the chapter

<sup>148</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 9–43, pp. 164–211.

<sup>149</sup> Inserted into this section are instructions for the celebration of the Feast of the Annunciation, since that feast falls during Lent.

titles; as none of them appears in the *Typikon* of Phoberos, they can be set aside. Subsection (c) ends with the following short sentence: ‘So these rules should be kept in this way.’

- (d) Chapter 11: the celebration of the Feasts of the Lord and of the Theotokos

This section ends with a sentence that makes it clear that the document will be moving on to deal with somewhat different matters: ‘Now that we have discussed these matters sufficiently, we will, as is necessary, mention the others.’

### ***The Establishment of the Monastery***

- (a) Chapter 12: the independence of the monastery

This ends with the following sentence: ‘So then those should be the principles established in this way.’

### ***The Leadership of the Monastery***

- (a) Chapter 13 part 1: the position of the *hegoumenos*
- (b) Chapter 13 part 2: appointment of the *oikonomos*
- (c) Chapter 13 part 3 and Chapter 14 part 1: removal of a bad *oikonomos*
- (d) Chapter 14 part 2: selecting *hegoumenoi* and *oikonomoi*
- (e) Chapter 15: confession to the *hegoumenos*
- (f) Chapter 16: attitude of the brothers to the *hegoumenos*
- (g) Chapter 17: instruction to the *hegoumenos*

At the end of subsection (a) there is the following half sentence: ‘...and now I must set down in writing also how he should be appointed.’ At the end of subsection (b) this very short sentence appears: ‘So much for those matters.’ Subsection (c) seems to be an insertion into the instruction on how the *hegoumenos* and *oikonomos* were to be appointed. The first words of subsection (d), ‘Well then...’, are appropriate when the author is returning to the main topic under discussion. This suggests that subsections (b) and (d) are really two parts of the same topic. At the end of subsection (e) there is the following very brief enigmatic sentence: ‘That man should be treated thus.’ Subsection (f) ends with a sentence, which though it does not mark the end of the subject so clearly as some of the previous ones, yet it has the feel of a final exhortation on the matter: ‘So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal and power and enthusiasm.’ This whole section

comes to an end with the sentence: ‘Those are the instructions concerning the appointments of *hegoumenoi* and *oikonomoi*, but I will add to what has been said another small bit which is both very useful and very necessary.’

### ***Income, Expenditure and Property***

- (a) Chapter 18: income and expenditure
- (b) Chapter 19: monastery property
- (c) Chapter 20: cash transactions

Subsection (a) concludes with the following sentence: ‘It is most necessary that these things be added to what has already been said.’ Subsection (b) ends with the very brief phrase: ‘What more?’ The whole section is concluded with the following sentence: ‘This matter has been mentioned in as fitting a manner as was possible; now our document should move on to other matters and we should speak about them also as well as we can.’

### ***Personal Lifestyle of the Monks***

- (a) Chapters 21–2: idle talk and possessions
- (b) Chapters 23–8: numbers, servants, garments, same food, *hegoumenos* to visit cells, bath for the sick

There is only one place where there is a division in this large section. At the beginning of Chapter 23 there is the following short sentence: ‘This also should be added to what has been said.’ The whole section ends with this sentence: ‘So these instructions are enough for your virtue; but lest you wrangle about the other matters, I must deal with them also.’

### ***The Monastery Officials***

- (a) Chapters 29–33

At the end of this section there is this short sentence: ‘But I will add to my discourse that matter which has almost slipped by me.’

### ***Property Away From the Monastery***

- (a) Chapter 34



At the end of this small section referred to in the final sentence of the previous one, we come to an important division in the document as a whole: ‘Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died.’

### ***Commemorations for the Dead***

- (a) Chapters 35–6: Paul, the first founder, benefactors and members of the community

This section concludes with the short sentence: ‘Enough has now been said also about these matters.’

### ***Tonsuring and Entrance Offerings***

- (a) Chapter 37

This section ends with the very brief sentence: ‘That deals with that matter.’

### ***Distributions in the Gateway, Access for Women and the Hospice***

- (a) Chapters 38–9

The final three lines of this section do not fit in with the subject matter here and, if anything, are a further postscript to the section on officials and their role in the monastery. It is very tempting to suppose that they were inserted into the document and dislodged the concluding phrase or sentence of this section.

### ***Exhortation from the Founder to all the Monks***

- (a) Chapter 40

The fact that there are two exhortations in the current version of the *Hypotyposis* is somewhat strange. This particular exhortation, however, does not appear in any of the later *typika* which copied material directly from the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>150</sup> Therefore we should almost certainly conclude that it is a later addition to the text, and one which, inserted here, separates two topics: (1) access for women

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<sup>150</sup> For a discussion of this insertion see Introduction, C. 14.

and the hospice and (2) the infirmary and the sick, which really go together. Secondly this exhortation ends with the following short sentence: 'When I have mentioned one more matter, I will finish my discourse.' The 'one more matter' is the next section. This short sentence has been most probably separated from an earlier version of the previous section (Chapters 38 and 39), and formed its conclusion.

### ***The Infirmary and the Sick***

#### (a) Chapter 41

This short section opens with a sentence indicating that the topic has already been discussed briefly at an earlier stage<sup>151</sup> and will now be treated in more detail.

### ***Summary and Final Exhortation***

#### (a) Chapters 42–3

It is interesting to note that after the introductory sentence the *Typikon* of Phoberos presents the material in this section partly as a list of instructions summarising the main concerns of the text as a whole and does not separate Chapter 43 from Chapter 42.<sup>152</sup> This section concludes with an ending commonly found in this type of text and brings the composition to a close at the end of the present Chapter 43.

### ***The Typikon of Phoberos and the 'Dividers'***

As we have seen, it is clear that the previous structure existing in the *Hypotyposis* was instrumental in establishing many of the chapter divisions in the Phoberos *Typikon*.<sup>153</sup> Twenty-four of its chapters begin at the 'dividers' that John found in the copy of the *Hypotyposis* that he was working from, and he maintained these in his text.<sup>154</sup> Other 'dividers' he presumably noted but then omitted.<sup>155</sup> It is equally clear from the analysis of the original structure that the person who made the

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<sup>151</sup> *Hypotyposis*, ch. 41, p. 208.

<sup>152</sup> *PhoberosRule*, ch. 59, pp. 943–6.

<sup>153</sup> On Chapters and their Titles see Introduction, C. 15.

<sup>154</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, chs 11; 12; 14; 16; 21; 25; 27; 29; 32; 33; 34; 35; 37; 38; 39; 45; 47; 49; 50; 51; 54; 56; 57; 59.

<sup>155</sup> At the end of *Hypotyposis*, chs 11; 12; 17; 18; 20; 28; 33; 34; 37.

formal division into chapters in the *Hypotyposis* and inserted the chapter titles was also heavily influenced by the ‘dividers’ in the text.

### 17. A Pauline *Hypotyposis*?<sup>156</sup>

When Timothy arrived at the monastery of Evergetis the community had already been established and had been functioning for some three months.<sup>157</sup> Paul held the position of *hegoumenos*, or rather *proestos*, as he preferred to describe himself,<sup>158</sup> for five years and during this time the communal life of the monastery was carried on under his guidance. Timothy describes how Paul had ‘built small cells and tonsured a few men including me’, but it is strange that there is no mention of a monastery church where the members of the community could meet for the regular round of daily services and the celebration of the Divine Liturgy.<sup>159</sup> The purpose of Timothy’s description of the monastery before he became *hegoumenos* was in part, of course, to emphasise the contrast between the ‘small and simple form’ of Paul’s monastery and the results of his own building programme and acquisition of movable and immovable property.<sup>160</sup>

While Timothy was evidently a man of vision and organising ability, Paul favoured the simple, old fashioned monastic values and practices found in the stories of the Desert Fathers of Egypt and Palestine. It is significant that these stories were the most frequent source used by him in putting together the *Synagoge*, his great compendium on the spiritual life.<sup>161</sup> But besides that distillation of his views on monasticism and a collection of *katecheseis* which he delivered to his monks at the First Hour, did he also leave a *typikon* for the continuing guidance of his monks and as a blueprint for his successor? He certainly formally entrusted the monastery to Timothy’s charge.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> For an extended and detailed version of this topic see Jordan, *Hypotyposis of the Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 129–50 and R.H. Jordan, ‘Founders and Second Founders: Paul and Timothy’, in Mullett (ed.), *Founders and Refounders*, 412–42.

<sup>157</sup> On the vexed question of the monastery’s precise foundation date and Timothy’s arrival, see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergetis’, p. 16; see also Introduction, A. 2.

<sup>158</sup> On the significance of this term, see below.

<sup>159</sup> Paul’s old monastery church may have been the chapel of the Holy Apostles where, according to the *Synaxarion*, the Divine Liturgy was begun until the *katholikon* was fully censed, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 L; see also *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.58 after the Sixth Hour.

<sup>160</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, p. 150.

<sup>161</sup> On the *Synagoge* see Introduction, A. 1.

<sup>162</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 3, p. 150 where it is not absolutely clear from the Greek word used (ἐνδιαθήκως) that there was a written will, though this is more than likely.

Monastic life was and is highly structured, and quite quickly the daily pattern of worship and work needs to be set down in writing so that everyone in the community can be reminded of his obligations, firstly to God in the daily and annual cycles of worship and secondly to the *hegoumenos* as spiritual father. The pattern of the worship at Evergetis can be seen in the *Synaxarion* which set out in great detail the cycles of worship.<sup>163</sup> As we have already suggested, it is certainly possible that in the first year or so of the Evergetis monastery some experienced monk could have directed a relatively simple routine of daily and monthly worship based on a number of service books.<sup>164</sup> But as the community grew and the monastery became more prosperous and probably more popular, the more detailed and elaborate liturgical practice had to be written down. As it was consulted on a daily basis and various modifications were made to the services now and then, this document would have had to be revised and a new copy made.<sup>165</sup> The present version of the *Synaxarion* is probably a late recension and from it we cannot reconstruct what type of liturgical practice was followed at Evergetis during its early years under Paul's leadership.

The *Hypotyposis*, with its 'rule' for the way of life at Evergetis, also sets out in broad terms the liturgical routine to be observed. However, in one important point – the times for the delivery of a *katechesis* – it is not in accord with the existing recension of the *Synaxarion*.<sup>166</sup> This again raises the possibility that remnants of an earlier *typikon* composed by Paul lie hidden within the *Hypotyposis* of Timothy. As Paul bequeathed the monastery to Timothy, it is at least possible, even probable, that Paul, who clearly expressed himself frequently, and at length, in writing, also left to him and the community a set of written rules or principles enshrining the way of life that he had established over the five years of his leadership. On assuming the position of *hegoumenos*, it is surely unlikely that Timothy would have swept away the way of life established by Paul and composed a completely new rule of his own, thereby causing both his fellow monks and himself to break with the influence of their own spiritual father.<sup>167</sup>

In our search in the existing *Hypotyposis* for traces of Paul's *typikon* (which we attempt to reconstruct in Appendix 1), we firstly need to ask what aspects

<sup>163</sup> On the *Synaxarion* see Introduction, A. 1. See also J. Klentos, 'The *Synaxarion* of Evergetis: Algebra, Geology and Byzantine Monasticism', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 329–55.

<sup>164</sup> See Introduction, B. 9, p. 78 and C. 11: The Making of Paul's *Typikon*, p. 89.

<sup>165</sup> For clear evidence of updating of liturgical practice see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16.

<sup>166</sup> See *Hypotyposis*, ch. 4 on the *katechesis* and Introduction, A. 1 on the *Katechetikon*; see also Introduction, B. 7: Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis, p. 56 and n. 109.

<sup>167</sup> For a comparison with another 'second founder', Neilos of the Monastery of Machairas on Cyprus, see Jordan, *Hypotyposis of the Theotokos Evergetis*, ch. 6, pp. 125–8.

of monastic life required a pattern or rule almost from the outset.<sup>168</sup> The most important area needing regulation was the liturgical routine of daily and nightly worship including the Divine Liturgy. Then, clear and orderly procedures regarding food and the *trapeza*, fasts and the celebration of feasts would also have been very important, for such matters were closely connected with worship in the church. As we have seen, the topics which Paul chose to highlight in the *Synagoge* all appear in the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>169</sup> So bearing in mind the possible thematic links between the *Synagoge*, put together by Paul without any known contribution from Timothy, and the *Hypotyposis*, it is time to subject the *Hypotyposis* to a detailed linguistic examination, particularly of its choice of vocabulary and modes of expression.

The *Hypotyposis* has two notable inconsistencies in its choice of vocabulary:

- (1) in some places the leader of the community is referred to by the word *proestos* and in others by *begoumenos* or its longer form *kathegoumenos*;
- (2) when specifying the amount of wine to be provided on specific days during the periods of fasting, two different words, *exagion* and *krasobolion*, are used with no apparent distinction of meaning.

It also has some interesting inconsistencies in its modes of expression:<sup>170</sup>

- (1) The verbs which instruct the readers or listeners – ‘wish’, ‘order’ ‘command’ etc. appear in some places with a ‘we’ ending and in others with an ‘I’ ending;
- (2) The way of expressing ‘must’ in the document varies quite widely: (a) sometimes by one or other of two impersonal verbs, (b) sometimes by the verb ‘ought’, (c) sometimes by the third person imperative and sometimes by the gerund.

Two questions arise in connection with the first point concerning modes of expression. How far do other *typika* show a similar variation of ‘We/I’ in verbs prescribing what should take place in a monastery and did the authors who copied text from previous *typika* such as the *Hypotyposis* alter the subject of prescriptive verbs to harmonise with their non-copied text? Some other Middle

<sup>168</sup> Appendix 1 is based on Jordan, *Hypotyposis of the Theotokos Evergetis*, Appendix C, pp. 202–28.

<sup>169</sup> See n. 27, above.

<sup>170</sup> Detailed lists of the various pieces of linguistic evidence and further analysis can be found in Jordan, *Hypotyposis of the Theotokos Evergetis*, pp. 129–50, also see Jordan, ‘Founders and Second Founders’, pp. 418–36.

Byzantine *typika* do indeed show similar variations in prescriptive verbs.<sup>171</sup> Such variations can be explained by a consideration of the identity and status of the founder and his or her aims in setting up the community. Was the founder a secular person or a member of a religious community; a member of the imperial family or a less high-ranking figure? Secular founders, from whatever level of society they came, needed help in drawing up parts of their *typikon* from some experienced religious figure. In that case a second 'author' might well appear, pinpointed by the use of a different verb form. If a secular founder intended the monastery to be his final resting place or a family foundation, then the sections of the *typikon* which deal with those matters are most likely to betray the founder's own choice of language and use of prescriptive verb forms. Similarly, passages setting out the founder's endowments or the gifts to be distributed in his memory may well reflect expert advice couched in the legal language of wills and donations, or be expressed personally with the founder's choice of verb forms. Imperial founders and aristocrats were probably much too busy, and, indeed, too grand to draw up an entire *typikon*; expert help both clerical and legal was needed and again a second 'author' might well appear in the use of different verb forms or impersonal verbal expressions. If a *typikon* was based in part on that of another community, as in the case of the *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the monastery at Bačkovo which is partially based on that of the Monastery of Panagios,<sup>172</sup> a second 'author' is certainly lurking behind certain parts of the writing. But in contrast to secular founders, a monk such as Paul, with experience of life in another monastery, would have had much less need of help from anyone else in drawing up a rule for his new community and would have produced a much more homogeneous text, thus increasing the likelihood that variations in modes of prescription are evidence of later editing. As we shall see, we believe that Paul generally expressed himself by verbs with a 'We' ending.

The *Typikon* of John for the Monastery of Phoberos and that of Isaac Komnenos for Kosmosoteira provide good examples to answer the second question. Out of all the passages copied from the *Hypotyposis* into the Phoberos

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<sup>171</sup> See for example *PakourianosTyp*, where Pakourianos appears in 'I have given', ch. 2, p. 524; 'I forbid', ch. 4, p. 527; but another author or drafter is possibly marked by 'we have prescribed ... we have ruled', ch. 9, p. 535; *ChristodoulosRule*, where Christodoulos predominates with phrases such as 'I command', A13, p. 585; 'I conjure', A14, p. 585 and 'I exhort and enjoin', A25, p. 592 while 'we will address', A16, p. 586, hints at a possible other joint author; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, where Isaac in passages not copied from the *Hypotyposis* demonstrates his authorship with a frequent use of 'I do not wish', 'I wish', ch. 12, pp. 804–5 and 'I decree', ch. 46, p. 821 with any rare 'we' verb indicating that others are included with Isaac in some commonly accepted action or attitude, cf. ch. 5, p. 801.

<sup>172</sup> See *PakourianosTyp*, pp. 510; Prologue, p. 520; ch. 9, p. 534.

*Typikon* only one verb, the first one, out of 60 was changed from 'We' to 'I' and all the 'I' forms remained unchanged. The copying in Isaac's *typikon* was far less meticulous and less extensive than in that of John but in copied passages only five verbs out of 48 were changed from 'We' to 'I'; this despite the regular use of the 'I' ending elsewhere in that document. This evidence suggests that verbs in the copied passages were not deliberately changed to suit the style of the document into which they were incorporated and generally preserved the forms found in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*. The language in which founders expressed their instructions for their communities thus sheds valuable light on both the character of the founder and on stages in the construction of the document as a whole. But in clear recognition of their indebtedness, drafters of *typika* maintained, to a marked degree, the style and wording of any text that was being copied.

When analysing the modes of expression and the instances of verbs with a 'we' or 'I' ending in the *Hypotyposis* it is important to distinguish, to some degree at least, between those verbs which give an instruction and those which, in the case of 'we', include the writer in the general body of the community, and in the case of 'I', are merely an aside. The verbs giving instruction are likely to be more reliable indicators of a deliberate choice of expression on the part of the author than general descriptions and plain narratives. The summary of findings concerning modes of expression is as follows:

(1) The 'we' writer uses a wider range of verbs for giving instruction compared with the 'I' writer: eleven as against six; four verbs are used by both. Also, the 'I' writer makes pointed use of one verb in particular. Of the total number of instruction verbs from the whole document we find 22 with a 'we' ending and 14 with an 'I' ending. Behind these bald statistics are some interesting indicators. Firstly, the earliest instruction verb with a 'we' ending appears just after the invocation of God and the Theotokos which forms the introduction to the instructions on the daily liturgical routine of the monastery in Chapter Three: '...and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light...'; this is indeed where we might expect to find the beginning of what is left of Paul's possible composition, since it deals with the most basic issue of monastic practice.

(2) (a) The two impersonal verbs provide us with little or no evidence regarding their use by either the 'we' or the 'I' writer; one impersonal verb in fact only appears four times in the whole document while the other is found connected to both writers. (b) The verb 'ought' with more examples than either of the impersonal verbs appears to be connected with the word *proestos* and the 'we' writer. (c) The most distinctive verb forms are the third person imperatives and (d) the gerunds with their great variety and number of examples. In the case



of the third person imperatives, it is interesting that the first example of these occurs in Chapter Four where we might also suppose that early vestiges of Paul's composition might well be found, since it is dealing with the important topics of the liturgical routine and the behaviour of the monks. Secondly, although neither *proestos* nor *hegoumenos* appears as the subject of these verb forms, there are three cases where it is linked to the word *proestos*:

Chapter 9: '...or [be] made to learn self-control in another way as the *proestos* wishes.'

Chapter 13: 'After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the *proestos* and then offer him his head...'

Chapter 14: '...when you are examining and selecting the *proestotes* and *oikonomoi* ... there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favouritism, but...' <sup>173</sup>

There are two cases where this verb form is linked to the 'we' writer:

Chapter 21: '...they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love...'

Chapter 23: 'This also should be added to what has been said. We do not wish there to be a fixed number of you, but...'

In contrast, two examples of this verb form can be found closely connected with cognates of *hegoumenos*:

Chapter 14: '...if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of *hegoumenos*, <sup>174</sup> and with him...'

Chapter 14: '...embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your *hegoumenos* even if he is not completely satisfactory.'

Regarding the uses of (d) the gerund verb form, where it is possible to attribute its use to one or other of our writers, all point in one direction, to *proestos* and the 'we' writer.

There are six cases of a link with the noun *proestos*:

Chapter 5: 'Then as many as have been allowed by the *proestos* to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements.'

Chapter 5: 'But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should

<sup>173</sup> This quotation comes from a passage which also includes a number of instances of verbs with the 'I' ending; however, in our view the short portions with 'I' verbs have been added and inserted into what was basically a sentence originally written by the 'we' writer.

<sup>174</sup> The noun used here for 'the office of *hegoumenos*', *hegoumeneia*, is the normal abstract noun for the leadership of a monastery. The equivalent abstract noun from *proestos* – *prostasia* – has a wider range of meanings, such as 'support', or 'protection' or 'patronage'. In this document it is mostly used as a general term for leadership.

partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the *proestos* of course...'

Chapter 9: '...but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the *proestos*, you should gratefully partake of these also.'

Chapter 25: '...he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the *proestos*.'

Chapter 28: '...extra bathing, if necessary, should be permitted at the discretion of the *proestos*.'

Chapter 24: '...some small pieces of immovable property, the *proestos* must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them...'

There are five links to the 'we' writer:

Chapter 3: 'But keeping to our purpose we must turn our discourse to the canonical procedure.'

Chapter 3: 'So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse, since we wish to begin from a preferable place...'

Chapter 4: 'For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when "God the Lord" is sung, as we have said.'

Chapter 18: 'For if we have judged that they should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of their actions, yet they will not escape the unerring judge and the reproof of their conscience.'

Chapter 38: 'For we do not wish anyone to return from the gateway empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share...'

From an analysis of the use and distribution of the three words for the leader of the community we discover that (a) the use of *hegoumenos* becomes marked after Chapter 12, in that part of the document which we would expect Timothy to have been the main, if not the sole, author as it moves on from liturgical matters to those of organisation for what was becoming a larger, wealthier and more complex community; (b) to complement that, *proestos* predominates in the first 12 chapters but rather surprisingly continues to appear, often only once, in many of the succeeding chapters.

The results of this analysis suggest that the use of *proestos* could mark out a piece of writing by Paul whereas *hegoumenos* (or *kathhegoumenos*) could indicate a piece composed by Timothy. In this connection the *Synagoge* provides significant support for the view that the word *proestos* refers to Paul, since in that work the leader of the community is only ever referred to as the *proestos* in the topic headings, which are undoubtedly the work of Paul.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>175</sup> See *EvSynag*, IV.41; 45; 49; 50.

But is it possible to link the use of these words for the leader of the community to verbs with a 'we' or 'I' ending? The following are clear examples of a close connection:

Chapter 7: 'Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the *proestos* himself clearly...';

Chapter 38: '...we built the hospice ... that we would guarantee ... to clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod ... distributed not by you yourselves ... but by the *proestos*...'

Further significant support for the 'we' writer being Paul can be found in his *katecheseis*. To take one example, *Katechesis* 340, which was adapted from *Katechesis* 59 of Theodore of Stoudios, shows up two interesting changes made by Paul to the language of the original:<sup>176</sup>

(1) '...since not even if *you* were to bend your neck like a ring and spread on yourself sackcloth and ashes would *you* be acceptable to him [God], if those things were lacking...' in Theodore of Stoudios<sup>177</sup> becomes '...not even if *we* bend our necks like a ring and spread sackcloth and ashes on ourselves will *we* be acceptable to him, if those things are lacking...' in Paul.<sup>178</sup>

(2) 'What would be sweeter than this and more enjoyable if eternal life is found by those who partake in this with a pure conscience?'<sup>179</sup> becomes in Paul 'What would be sweeter and more enjoyable than this, if *we* partake in it with a pure conscience? For then eternal life is found also.'<sup>180</sup>

This linguistic investigation has produced strong evidence that in drawing up his *Hypotyposis* Timothy was not working from scratch. Instead, just as he rebuilt and extended the Evergetis monastery on the foundations laid by Paul, his predecessor, so he based the document that bears his name on an earlier *typikon* composed by Paul. When Timothy assumed the position of *hegoumenos*, it would not have been in his interest to sweep away the whole way of life established by Paul; such a course might easily have led to internal friction with any monks who had been there with Paul from the beginning and greatly revered him. By

<sup>176</sup> Waring, *Byzantine Monastic Libraries*, pp. 292–4 and Theodore of Stoudios, *Lesser Catecheses*, in E. Auvray and A. Tougaard (eds), *Κατηχήσεις πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς; Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitarum praepositi, parvae catecheses ad discipulos* (Paris, 1891), pp. 209–12.

<sup>177</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Lesser Catecheses*, p. 210, ll. 9–11.

<sup>178</sup> Waring, *Byzantine Monastic Libraries*, p. 292, ll. 11–13.

<sup>179</sup> Theodore of Stoudios, *Lesser Catecheses*, p. 292, ll. 23–5.

<sup>180</sup> Waring, *Byzantine Monastic Libraries*, p. 293, ll. 28–30.

incorporating much of Paul's instruction and teaching into his recension of the *Hypotyposis*, he was able to introduce new ideas of his own without causing any dissension and, at the same time, parade his own debt to and reverence for Paul.

Just how much of the *Hypotyposis* was originally composed by Paul is impossible to calculate. We can only point to those parts of the document that contain traces of what we believe to be Paul's style and thus were composed by him to a greater or lesser degree. But, as we have noted, reference to his preoccupations in the *Synagoge* is also instructive, so we list below 23 topics, many of which also appear in that work and which, we believe, provide the basic structure of Paul's *typikon*:<sup>181</sup>

- instructions for the various liturgical offices
- the Divine Liturgy and partaking of the holy elements
- daily confession
- the *trapeza* and the diet
- fasts and feasts
- the daily distribution in the gateway
- the independence of the monastery
- appointment of the *begoumenos*
- appointment of the *oikonomos*
- removal of a *oikonomos*
- inalienability of the monastery's property
- income and expenditure
- behaviour and discipline
- number of monks in the monastery
- number of monks to a cell
- clothing
- bathing
- appointment of officials
- commemorations
- tonsuring and the entry of new brothers
- entry gifts for the monastery
- monastery not to be entered by women
- infirmary and sick brothers.

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<sup>181</sup> See n. 27 above for *Synagoge* references and Appendix 1 for the full reconstruction of Paul's *Typikon*.

## 18. The Influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*

Even though the Monastery of the Evergetis has left no physical remains, it exerted a widespread influence on monastic life and literature across the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Copies of various parts of its large archive are to be found in numerous manuscripts and in the extant *typika* of monasteries from succeeding centuries.<sup>182</sup> The *typika* of several later foundations indicate by their wording and content that the way of life at Evergetis and the regulations in Timothy's *Hypotyposis* struck a chord with other monastic founders. Portions of Timothy's text (including the earlier Pauline *Hypotyposis*), from large continuous passages to fragmentary phrases, reappear in a number of later regulatory documents.<sup>183</sup> From close textual analysis and comparison it is possible to divide the later *typika* which drew on the *Hypotyposis* into two types: direct and indirect borrowers. Only two later *typika* acknowledge their debt to the Evergetis: one to the *Hypotyposis* and the other to the *Synaxarion* or liturgical *typikon*;<sup>184</sup> for the remainder we have to rely on linguistic evidence. Nevertheless, we can trace the continuing influence of the *Hypotyposis* and the way of life at Evergetis down to the mid-fourteenth century.

### *Direct Borrowers*

This group consists of three foundations: Phoberos, a refoundation on the southern coast of the Bosphoros near the entrance to the Black Sea,<sup>185</sup> the imperial monastery of Kosmosoteira, founded by Isaac Komnenos near Bera in Thrace<sup>186</sup> and the Serbian monastery of Chilandar on Mt Athos, refounded by Sava (Prince Rastko).

<sup>182</sup> On this see Introduction, A. 1.

<sup>183</sup> For an earlier discussion, see R.H. Jordan, 'The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, its Children and Grandchildren', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 215–45; linguistic analysis of the copying or borrowing appears in Jordan, *Hypotyposis of Evergetis*, esp. Appendix A, pp. 166–74.

<sup>184</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp* and *MamasTyp*, see below and Introduction, A. 1.

<sup>185</sup> *PhoberosRule*. For a history of this foundation see Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>186</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*. For a biography of Isaac see K. Barzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, 2 vols (Βυζάντινα κείμενα καὶ μελέται, 20, Thessalonike, 1984), no. 36, pp. 238–54; see also P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 193ff. On the foundation of the monastery see N. Patterson (Ševčenko), *Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai*, (unpublished Masters Thesis, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 3–16.

**Phoberos** (date of *Typikon* after 1113; re-edited c. 1144)

John, the founder of this monastery, makes no reference whatsoever to Evergetis or to the *Hypotyposis* and yet, as we have seen, he clearly had access to a copy and proceeded to copy it word for word into his own *typikon*, inserting and adding other material that reflected his own concerns and omitting whatever did not apply to his community.<sup>187</sup> Other chapters in his *typikon* are reminiscent of ascetic literature such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the *Pratum Spirituale*. However, if we set aside these additions made by John, we can see that, after he had ignored the personal and historical material referring specifically to the Evergetis, he simply took over Timothy's structure and topics: liturgical matters, confession, fasts, feasts, the independence of the monastery, appointment of the *hegoumenos* and *oikonomos*, the relationship between the *hegoumenos* and the monks, property and possessions, washing, other positions of responsibility, commemorations, tonsuring, dealing with strangers and women, exhortation to observe his instructions, the sick and the final exhortation to all. The copying is so accurate that John has left us not only the *typikon* for his own foundation, but an independent witness from the early twelfth century to most of the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>188</sup>

**Kosmosoteira** (date of *Typikon* 1152)

When Isaac Komnenos set up his monastery and had a *typikon* drawn up for his monks to follow, he was aware of the value that a number of other founders had put on Timothy's *Hypotyposis*.<sup>189</sup> Then he states that he is 'copying and transcribing ... word for word what was written in the [*Hypotyposis*]'.<sup>190</sup> Though he talks about 'copying word for word', in fact the transcribing is not as close and detailed as that in the *Typikon* of Phoberos. In view of what Isaac says above about hymnody at Evergetis, it is not surprising that the most accurate copying occurs in Chapters 13–29 (where he transcribed Chapters 4–11 of the *Hypotyposis*), which outline the conduct of the various liturgical offices, confession, diet and eating, fasts and feasts in the same order as the original. Thereafter, the copying becomes patchier until it finally ceases in Chapter 59 with some lines from Chapter 43 of the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>191</sup> Most of the second half of Isaac's document

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<sup>187</sup> On this see C. 14, above.

<sup>188</sup> See *PhoberosRule*, where the copied passages from the *Hypotyposis* appear in bold type. On the date of this *typikon* see *PhoberosRule*, p. 872 and n. 1.

<sup>189</sup> See Introduction, A. 3, p. 29.

<sup>190</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 8, p. 802.

<sup>191</sup> See *KosmosoteiraTyp* where the copied passages from the *Hypotyposis* appear in bold type.

is taken up with the properties and rights that he donated to his monastery and their management.<sup>192</sup>

**Chilandar** (date of *Typikon* 1198/9)<sup>193</sup>

The other *typika* in this list of ‘direct’ and ‘indirect borrowers’ are in Greek; this on the other hand was composed in Slavonic by Sava, the youngest son of Prince Stefan Nemanja (reigned c. 1165–96). When Sava entered the monastic life, he moved to Mount Athos and lived at first in the Monastery of Panteleimon and then in that of Vatopedi. Later, with the permission of the Emperor Alexios III Angelos, he re-established the ruined monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos and drew up its *typikon*. This he based closely on Timothy’s *Hypotyposis*.<sup>194</sup> In texts of the time both Sava and his father, who became the monk Symeon, are described as *ktetores* of Evergetis which suggests that they made donations to the monastery. Furthermore, according to Sava’s biographer, Domentijan, they both stayed at Evergetis or its *metochion* in Constantinople on their visits to the capital.<sup>195</sup> It is clear from a comparison of Sava’s *Typikon* for Chilandar and the *Hypotyposis* that in drawing up his *typikon* Sava was either working in Evergetis directly from the *Hypotyposis* or that he had made a copy of it and took it away with him to start on his own foundation. What is more, it is also clear that in c. 1198/9 Sava had before him the *Hypotyposis* in the form found in Cod. Athen. graec. 788 with chapters and chapter titles (including Chapter 40), and even one of the subtitles that appear in Chapter 10.<sup>196</sup> This close relationship with the *Typikon* of Chilandar indicates that the chapters and their titles were inserted between c. 1130 and 1198.<sup>197</sup> The *Typikon* of the Chilandar monastery itself

<sup>192</sup> *KosmosoteiraTyp*, chs 66–116, pp. 827–48.

<sup>193</sup> We are most grateful for the assistance of David Goldfrank and Moreno Mitrović in analysing the Chilandar *Typikon*.

<sup>194</sup> For an assessment of the closeness of Chilandar’s *Typikon* to the *Hypotyposis* see M. Živojinović, ‘Hilandarski i Evergetidski tipik. Podudarnosti i razlike’, *ZbRad*, 33 (1994), 85–102, Fr. summary pp. 101–2.

<sup>195</sup> See *Life of Sava* by Domentijan (1253/40) and Teodosije’s *Life of Sava* (late 13th c.), summarised in *Actes de Chilandar*, vol. 1, pp. 24–7.

<sup>196</sup> Moreno Mitrović kindly worked through the earliest surviving version of the Chilandar *typikon* for us (see Introduction, A. 2, p. 14 and n. 67), as published in Bogdanović (ed.), *Hilandarski Tipik* and established that its chapter headings correspond closely with those in Cod. Athen. graec. 788. The Slavonic translation of the *Hypotyposis* ends with the Slavonic for ‘...now and always and for ever and ever, Amen’, since Sava had no need to include in his version the extra two paragraphs in the *Hypotyposis* about the commemorations of Timothy and the modifications to the cumin drink in Lent.

<sup>197</sup> On the history of Chilandar and its connections with Evergetis see Introduction, A. 2.



later became the model for the *Typikon* of the Serbian monastery of Studenica, extending the influence of Evergetis further into the Slavic world.<sup>198</sup>

### *Indirect Borrowers*

#### ***Kecharitomene*** (date of *Typikon* 1110–16)

The earliest document in this group is the *typikon* that was drawn up by, or on behalf of, the Empress Irene Doukaina for the convent of Kecharitomene in Constantinople.<sup>199</sup> It is clear from the often fragmentary nature of the portions of text that can be identified as coming originally from Timothy's *Hypotyposis* that the author of the *Typikon* for Kecharitomene did not have direct access to a copy of Timothy's document but must have been drawing on some other *typikon*, now lost.<sup>200</sup> This missing *typikon* could well have been one of the anonymous ones referred to by Isaac Komnenos when emphasising the importance of the Evergetis. The lost *Typikon* of Kecharitomene's twin house for men, dedicated to Christ Philanthropos, which Irene set up about the same time next to her convent, has been suggested as the intermediate *typikon* that passed on text from the *Hypotyposis* to the *Typikon* for Kecharitomene.<sup>201</sup> It is certainly plausible that both religious houses had very similar *typika* while, of course, making allowances for the different genders of their residents and the issue of the apartments within Kecharitomene set aside for the empress and her daughters. But complications in the 'Evergetis family' relationships arise, as we shall see, when the relationship between the *Typikon* for the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos and that for St Mamas, a later re-foundation, is brought into play.

Apart from the fragmentary nature of most of the borrowed material, the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene, unlike the three direct borrowers, does not follow the basic structure of the *Hypotyposis*. The borrowing begins with the independence of the monastery (*Hypotyposis* Chapter 12) then jumps to the matter of tonsuring, using only the last paragraph of Chapter 37. The next piece of borrowing concerns the inalienability of monastic property, making use of two parts of *Hypotyposis* Chapter 19. After that the borrowing comes from an earlier section in the *Hypotyposis* (Chapters 13, 14, 16 and 17) regarding the installation of the *hegoumene*, although the various pieces of borrowing do not follow the order in the source document. Since liturgical matters, such as the daily offices, eating, fasts and feasts are prescribed later in the Kecharitomene *Typikon*,

<sup>198</sup> On this see also Introduction, A. 3, p. 31.

<sup>199</sup> See *KecharitomeneTyp*.

<sup>200</sup> *Contra* Jordan, *Hypotyposis of Evergetis*, pp. 9–10 and Jordan, 'Children and Grandchildren'; see also *KecharitomeneTyp*, pp. 650–652.

<sup>201</sup> See *KecharitomeneTyp*, p. 652.

we find here and there in chapters 32–48 pieces of borrowing ranging from a more or less continuous passage of about 15 lines (from *Hypotyposis* Chapter 10) to odd phrases of half a dozen words out of the early chapters of the *Hypotyposis*. It is worth noting, however, that the main part of the Kecharitomene *Typikon* ends with an accurate copy of Chapter 42 from the *Hypotyposis*, to which was added the final benediction drawn from the end of Chapter 43. So although the bulk of the borrowing was subject to considerable change and modification both in its sequence and composition, yet the final exhortation clearly endured as an inspiring piece of writing both to the person who put this *Typikon* together and to the writer of the lost *typikon* on which it was based.

### *St Mamas (date of Typikon 1158)*

This monastery, through its *typikon*, played a pivotal role in passing on the influence of Evergetis. The *typikon* directly provided large amounts of text for those of two other monasteries – Elegmoi or Heliou Bomon and Menoikeion – and made some contribution to the *typikon* of a third, Machairas. The Monastery of St Mamas had a long and at times troubled history before it was refounded under the patronage of George the Cappadocian.<sup>202</sup> The monk Athanasios Philanthropenos was recruited by the patron from the monastery of Christ Philanthropos<sup>203</sup> to compose a *typikon* for the repaired and renovated monastery and it is surely reasonable to suppose that he drew heavily on his experience of monastic life in Philanthropos and might, indeed, have used its *Typikon* as his model. Yet it is noticeable that the *typikon* drawn up by him and signed in November 1158 does not closely resemble that for Kecharitomene in its structure; nor do we find a continuous closeness of language between the two documents. Material that can be identified as similar or even identical to passages in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene very often appears either in short passages broken up by new phrases, sentences and chapters or by material directly from the *Hypotyposis*. This difference in basic structure and general language correspondence therefore throws some doubt on the view that the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene would have been very similar in many respects to the lost *Typikon* of Christ Philanthropos.<sup>204</sup> If it was, then Athanasios must also have made conspicuous use of material from another lost *typikon*. One notable

<sup>202</sup> *MamasTyp*; for a brief history of the monastery see pp. 973–5. See also Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, pp. 314–19; and P. Magdalino, ‘Medieval Constantinople’, in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), 1–111, pp. 37; 60; 67.

<sup>203</sup> See Kecharitomene above.

<sup>204</sup> For evidence of known borrowed material see *MamasTyp* where the borrowed material is marked in bold type; see the discussion of the possible sources on pp. 975–7. See also Thomas, ‘Documentary Evidence’, p. 263. For a recent brief summary of the case for the *Typikon* of Christ

feature of the St Mamas *Typikon*, however, is that, alone out of all the later *typika*, it includes the passage in the *Hypotyposis* containing the striking simile of the octopus.<sup>205</sup> This along with other short passages coming originally from the *Hypotyposis*<sup>206</sup> and not appearing in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene suggest either that Athanasios' lost source drew quite heavily on the *Hypotyposis* or that Athanasios also had access to a copy of it. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that more than a dozen of the St Mamas passages also found in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene are themselves derived from Timothy's *Hypotyposis*.<sup>207</sup>

### *Elegmoi* (date of *Typikon* 1162)

The *typikon* that the *mystikos* Nikephoros wrote for the refounded Monastery of Elegmoi or Heliou Bomon is little more than an accurate copy of that for St Mamas, though Nikephoros does not acknowledge his source.<sup>208</sup> His choice was hardly surprising since Nikephoros was possibly a relative of both George the Cappadocian<sup>209</sup> and Theocharistos who acted as the first protector of St Mamas.<sup>210</sup> The comprehensive nature of the copying employed by Nikephoros means that his *typikon* provides a very important check on the reliability of the manuscript of the *Typikon* of St Mamas.

In spite of the decision to copy a previous *typikon*, some changes and additions were, of course, necessary. There is a short introduction containing new material explaining that the monastery had been under the control of the Great Church, but had been freed by a patriarchal memorandum ratified by the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and was now set up as an independent community. Since the Monastery of Elegmoi was dedicated to the Theotokos, a few minor changes were also necessary to substitute the name of the Theotokos for that of the martyr St Mamas. One chapter was also omitted from the St Mamas *Typikon*, as it concerned commemorations for the founder of that monastery and his brother and the latter's wife. In its place, Nikephoros added a final four chapters of new material concerning the Feast of the Dormition and commemorations for the Emperor Manuel, Nikephoros himself and the original founders of the monastery. As a result, the passages in the *Typikon* of St Mamas incorporating

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Philanthropos as the model for that of St Mamas see Krausmüller, *Saints' Lives and typika*, p. 137, n. 122.

<sup>205</sup> *MamasTyp*, ch. 2, p. 997, and *Hypotyposis*, ch. 13, p. 181.

<sup>206</sup> *MamasTyp*, chs 17; 18; 22; 23; 27; 30; 34; 35; 36; 42; 44; 45; 46; 47.

<sup>207</sup> See Chart Two, *BMFD*, vol. 3, p. 990.

<sup>208</sup> See *ElegmoiTyp*; on the source *typikon* see p. 1044.

<sup>209</sup> See St Mamas above.

<sup>210</sup> On the relationship between Theocharistos and George the Cappadocian see *MamasTyp*, Constitutional Matters 2, pp. 981f and chs 3, p. 998; 15, p. 1004.

material from the *Hypotyposis* were passed on to another generation of *typika* and extended the influence of Evergetis further, into the second half of the twelfth century.

***Machairas* (date of *Typikon* 1210)**

The *typikon* written by the monk Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of Machairas in Cyprus is, like that for St Mamas, a mixture.<sup>211</sup> It contains a considerable amount of material from the *Typikon* of St Mamas and many sections of this, of course, originally came from the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>212</sup> In addition to that, Neilos' *Typikon* also contains a number of chapters which are not found in the St Mamas *Typikon* but come originally, again possibly indirectly, from the *Hypotyposis*.<sup>213</sup> Neilos himself alludes to the fasting rules which he adopted, indicating that they came from the monks of Palestine.<sup>214</sup> In another chapter he hints that his predecessor Ignatios had left a document concerning the selection of *hegoumenoi*. In yet another chapter he talks about 'the rule of the monastery'. These other documents may in fact be the sources of much of his *typikon*.<sup>215</sup> This monastery, still in existence today, thus continues, as does Chilandar, traditions which were, in part, based on those at Evergetis.

***Menoikeion near Serres* (date of *Typikon* 1332)**

The short *typikon* of 22 chapters, for a monastery dedicated to St John the Prodromos, can be divided into two parts: nine chapters of material unrelated to any other known *typika* and 13 which betray a connection with three of the *typika* listed above.<sup>216</sup> The channel for these connections is the *Typikon* for the Monastery of St Mamas through which we can recognise material from Evergetis and Kecharitomene, but it seems unlikely that the author, Joachim, Metropolitan of Zichna, was actually working from a copy of this *typikon*. In more recent times the manuscripts of Menoikeion were stolen and the monastery itself was abandoned for a time. However, it has been re-established as a convent and the nuns are currently restoring its sadly neglected buildings.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> See *MachairasRule*.

<sup>212</sup> Group B in the analysis chart in *MachairasRule*, p. 1121.

<sup>213</sup> *Hypotyposis*, chs 7; 15; 9; 13; 25; 34; 38; 15–16; 43; for an analysis of sources see *MachairasRule*, p. 1121.

<sup>214</sup> *MachairasRule*, chs 75, p. 1145; 77, p. 1146.

<sup>215</sup> *MachairasRule*, chs 12, p. 1129; 120, p. 1157.

<sup>216</sup> See *MenoikeionTyp*; on connections with other *typika* see pp. 1581–2.

<sup>217</sup> For more detail on the later history of Menoikeion and the lost manuscripts, see *MenoikeionTyp*, p. 1580.

## Conclusion

Before turning to the translated text of the *Hypotyposis*, some general conclusions about our investigation so far are called for. While the medieval history of the Monastery of the Evergetis was already reasonably well known, it has been possible to clarify some of the issues that have been of concern to past commentators. In particular, the role of the *protoasekretis* Basil as a *ktetor* of the Evergetis and his location in the eleventh century have been questioned. Close examination of the documents associated with the Evergetis under Latin rule in the thirteenth century has suggested that the house still retained a degree of autonomy and still possessed lands and dependent tenants. The evidence from both the Latin documents and the letters of Nicholas Mesarites indicates that Greek monks remained in the house throughout the period of the Latin Empire and that it was, to some degree, under the protection of the Serbian princes. In fact, it has proved possible to suggest a much closer relationship between Evergetis and the Serbian Monastery of Chilandar on Mt Athos than has previously been recognised; the Chilandar *Typikon* can now be seen to be very closely based on the version of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* which appears in Cod. Athen. graec. 788 and research by Serbian scholars has revealed strong influence of the Evergetis on the liturgical practices of Chilandar. Further research on Slav monasticism in the Balkans and Russia may well reveal a much wider and longer influence of the Evergetis in that tradition than has previously been noted. What became of the house after the fourteenth century remains a mystery; it would be particularly interesting to know of its fate, if it was still in existence, under Ottoman rule. If it is indeed the case that Cod. Athen. graec. 788 was given to a Church of the Panagia Petritziotissa in the sixteenth century, then this might either indicate that the Evergetis had ceased to exist and that its book collection had been broken up, or, conversely, that its *Hypotyposis*, so influential in the medieval period, was still of living relevance to another monastic house. But even if the Petritziotissa is indeed to be identified with Bačkovó, the nature of any links between it and the Evergetis remain unknown.

The figure of Paul Evergetinos remains mysterious. We still do not know anything of his origins, his family, his life in the world or the place of his monastic profession. Could he have been related by blood to Timothy, his successor? We cannot know for certain; but the association of their two monastic names – in imitation, perhaps, of that of the Apostle Paul and his closest disciple Timothy – surely indicates a close relationship in the monastic world, if not in the secular. Timothy was certainly Paul's spiritual son. Building on the work of other members of the Evergetis Project, it has been possible to associate many of the themes of Paul's other known works – his *Katecheseis* and his great spiritual

*florilegium* of the *Synagoge* – with passages in the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and thus, with the help of close linguistic analysis, to put forward a strong argument for seeing Paul's hand in considerable parts of the latter. The 'voice of the founder' emerges, however, as a somewhat reticent one. In contrast to the brisk, first person, organisational tone of Timothy, Paul's consensual use of 'we' and his overriding concern for the spiritual welfare of his monks echoes the didactic intention and sympathetic, even gentle, tone that are a feature of his other works. Forthcoming translations of the *Katecheseis* and the *Synagoge* will surely help to make Paul's influential writings more familiar to a Western readership.

The influence of the Stoudios Monastery seems very clear in much of Paul's work, much more pervasive, indeed, than previous commentators have suggested. Stoudios, with its celebrated library and scriptorium is the obvious location for Paul to have compiled his *Synagoge*; the Evergetis in the five years in which he led it simply did not have the bibliographic resources and Paul's attention was surely focused on creating and leading his new foundation. But why, when he clearly acknowledged the Stoudite tradition – especially the works of Theodore the Stoudite – in his spiritual collection and his own *katecheseis*, did Paul not make use of the existing Stoudite administrative documents in formulating his own Rule? Should we see a deliberate omission of Stoudite influence here, even a *damnatio memoriae*?<sup>218</sup> In this context, Barbara Crostini Lappin's suggestion that Paul founded his new house not in emulation of Stoudios, but rather as a reaction to its eleventh-century position at the centre of Constantinopolitan religious life and, indeed, as implicit criticism of general trends in contemporary monastic practices in the capital, is of profound significance. Further work is certainly needed to clarify the precise nature of Stoudite influence in Byzantine monasticism at this period.

While we have been able to establish beyond doubt that the Evergetis *Hypotyposis* influenced the wording of the *typika* of many later monastic houses up to the fourteenth century, the reasons for the popularity of this text are more difficult to elucidate. The notion of an 'Evergetine Reform Movement' which has been very influential in recent studies of Byzantine monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth century is not persuasive. Granted, the *Hypotyposis* shows a concern to establish a 'free and independent' house; free, that is, from the control of either episcopal authority or 'founder's kin', but this was by no means unusual in the eleventh century. But no particular concern is voiced in the document about lay control, either beneficial or harmful. Concern for the autonomy of the house, as evidenced, for example, in the regulations for the appointment of the *begoumenos* and his senior office holders is also echoed in other contemporary

<sup>218</sup> A point made to us by Jonathan Shepard.



monastic *typika* which own no textual link to the Evergetis. While it may well be that quite straightforward questions of the availability of the text may have persuaded the drafters of later *typika* to turn to that of the Evergetis, some later founders, such as Isaac Komnenos, specifically expressed their admiration for the house and its practices: 'the best possible guide for the benefit of the soul'. Two factors, we suggest, played a major role in this burgeoning popularity. The first was the increasingly widespread fame and influence of Paul Evergetinos' own spiritual writings (and here the very name by which he became known and the designation of his *Synagoge* as the *Evergetinon* as early as 1200 are themselves significant) which is clearly apparent even in the eleventh century. The second was the boost to the reputation of the house gained by the patronage of the Doukas/Komnenos clan, very evident in the first half of the twelfth century and which may well have begun with the entry of the monk *kyr* Anthony (whose identity with the *sebastokrator* John Doukas can now be firmly established) to the Evergetis in c. 1110. Later monastic founders wished to share in the spiritual power of Paul Evergetinos; many of them were associated by blood or service with the secular power of the ruling family and followed its patterns of patronage. As is now clear, the influence of the *Hypotyposis* was long-lasting in the medieval period; that of Paul's *Synagoge* has lasted even longer, for it is read and studied in Orthodox monasteries to the present day.

The detailed analysis of the texts of the *Hypotyposis* and its 'children and grandchildren' has enabled considerable new light to be shed on the process of composition of both the Evergetis text and those derived from it. It is clear that *typika* are not homogenous texts. Rather, they can be compared to living organisms which changed and developed over time. The challenge for the historian is to identify, by means of careful linguistic and topical analysis, the various layers and accretions which make up *typika* in the versions which have survived and to determine how, why and, indeed, when these strata were produced. Many other *typika* would respond to this kind of quasi-archaeological treatment; other 'families' of *typika* will surely emerge. In the case of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*, it has, we believe, proved possible to take the history of this influential text back a stage. The second *hegoumenos*, Timothy, clearly played a major role in the expansion of the house and its establishment as an institution of wealth and significance and that role should not for a moment be underestimated. But the *Hypotyposis* which now bears his name was built on an older foundation which reflected the spiritual vision of his predecessor: the *Typikon* of Paul Evergetinos.



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Exposition and *hypotyposis* for the life of the monks in the monastery of the most holy Theotokos Evergetis handed down by Timothy the monk and priest who became *kathegoumenos* after the founder of the same monastery.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. The introduction to the *typikon*.<sup>2</sup>

It is very good because it is both pleasing to God and contributes in no small way to your benefit, my brothers in the Lord and spiritual children,<sup>3</sup> to set down

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<sup>1</sup> The main title, the chapter titles and the chapter divisions that appear in the present text of the *Hypotyposis* were clearly added at a later date to Timothy's composition. Some titles refer to Timothy in the third person; this contrasts strongly with the rest of the text where Timothy talks about himself in the first person. In addition, none of those *typika* which contain text copied from the *Hypotyposis* has the same chapter titles or the same overall chapter division that we see in the present text. A close inspection of the text of the *Hypotyposis* reveals another system of divisions which must pre-date the present chapter headings. These divisions are marked by phrases within the text; these will be identified in later notes. The wording of the present chapter titles is probably derived from the text in the first few lines of each chapter. For a detailed discussion of this topic see Introduction, C. 15: The *Hypotyposis*: Chapters and their Titles.

<sup>2</sup> *Typikon* is the generic term for the regulations prescribing the administrative organisation and rules of behaviour in a monastery. Detailed daily liturgical practices were contained in a separate document, see *EvSynax* and, for another example, *Le Typicon du monastère de Saint-Sauveur à Messine: codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, ed. M. Arranz (OCA, 185, Rome, 1969). Often *typika* had a more specific title, such as *diataxis* and, in this case, *hypotyposis* ('pattern' or 'model'). Since there were no monastic 'orders' in Byzantium, each monastery had its own *typikon*, usually first laid down by its founder and, as in this case, later revised. See Introduction, C. 11: The Making of Paul's *Typikon*.

<sup>3</sup> Spiritual relationships could be established by baptism, adoption or, in this case, entering a monastery, where the *begoumenos* would act as spiritual father to all the monks by hearing their confessions and guiding their spiritual development. Monks would thus become his spiritual children and brothers to one another. On spiritual direction in this

in writing the nature and extent of all your holy liturgical procedure,<sup>4</sup> and when and how you must carry it out, and to leave behind as it were a rule and model not only for you but also those coming after you, and not just that but to describe all the rest of your way of life – that is, that which concerns both the soul itself and the body – so that by referring to this<sup>5</sup> you may be able with God's help to guide and live your lives without error, not missing the true object by straying this way and that, but remain immovable in goodness, not being carried to and fro as Solomon says 'Either to the right or to the left.'<sup>6</sup> You yourselves are well aware of the reason for which I have made this decision. It is also necessary to say these things for the sake of our successors.

**2. Concerning the site of this holy monastery, that is, the estate of our saintly<sup>7</sup> father and first founder *kyr* Paul, the one that was set aside by him for a monastery.<sup>8</sup>**

This most holy monastery of ours, as everyone knows, was once an estate of our

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period see Turner, *St Symeon* and R.J. Macrides, 'The Byzantine God-father', *BMGs*, 11 (1987), 139–62.

<sup>4</sup> In chs 4–6, the *Hypotyposis* lays down a number of principles for the conduct of the daily round of liturgical services and offices – *Hesperinon*, *Pannychis*, *Apodeipnon*, *Mesonyktikon*, *Orthros*, the Hours and the Divine Liturgy – on which see Introduction, B. 7: Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis. The detailed information about the variations in daily practice is located in the *Synaxarion*, see *EvSynax*.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy stipulated in ch. 43 that it was to be read out in the *trapeza* (refectory) during meals at the beginning of each month. If this instruction was indeed carried out, the monks would have become very familiar with its contents.

<sup>6</sup> Prov. 4:27 with slight adaptation. Traditionally Proverbs was a source of practical advice for daily life.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek word used here – *hosios* – is usually reserved for monks and nuns. See also n. 15.

<sup>8</sup> The precise location of the monastery is unknown, but it was probably about two miles outside the Theodosian land walls of Constantinople, see Introduction, A. 2: History of the Evergetis Monastery. Even though Byzantine canon law declared that all monasteries should be built with episcopal consent and should be consecrated by bishops, this was clearly not the case by the end of the ninth century. The Evergetis was what John Thomas has termed a 'private religious foundation', see Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*. Another example can be found on Skyros, where the *kouboukleisios*, John, a lay court official, declared in his will that his house should become a monastery, see *Actes de Lavra*, I, *Des origines à 1204*, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (Archives de l'Athos, 5, Paris, 1970), no. 16 (1012). For further discussion see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, ch. 6.

late and thrice-blessed father and founder, I mean the monk *kȳr* Paul.<sup>9</sup> It had come to him by family inheritance and had been preferred by him to simply every other piece of property he had in the world clearly because of his desire for virtue and the contemplative life which he sought after most earnestly and preferred to everything else.<sup>10</sup> Pierced by a burning love for this and moved by the Spirit of God, he immediately left this imperial capital, his own birthplace, also his parents and the rest of his relations, his friends and associates and his wealth, and all the other things in the world that enslave a soul that loves the world,<sup>11</sup> and he reached this estate<sup>12</sup> in the month of June of the second indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-sixth year.<sup>13</sup> After him and as it were following him I also came at the beginning of September of the third indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-seventh year.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The land on which the Evergetis monastery evolved is here described in the Greek as a *proasteion* (estate) and, later in the chapter as an *agridion* (isolated farm). *Agria* arose at the periphery of village cultivations when the more central areas became overcrowded. It may be that the terms are being used interchangeably in this document. See Kaplan 'Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and the Management of Monastic Estates', p. 104, n. 3 and *ibid.*, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 10, Paris, 1992), p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> The monk Paul's family were clearly well-off enough to own lands. This was not the only property he inherited (and he may well have had brothers and sisters who inherited other estates) for we are told that it was the one he preferred.

<sup>11</sup> Here Timothy clearly enumerates many of the ties which bound Byzantines: posts or professions in the capital, the lasting associations of one's native place and ties of blood, friendship and social standing. All of these were to be abandoned in the new life of the monastery. In ch. 7, the formal cutting of the monastic novice's hair (the tonsure) is emphasised as symbolic of the cutting off of worldly relationships. In fact, however, the monastic community became a substitute family, ties of friendship clearly existed and it was impossible for monks entirely to cut themselves off from the world outside their walls. On Byzantine lay social relationships see M. Mullett, 'Byzantium: A Friendly Society?', *PP*, 118 (1988), 3–24. For monastic grouping and cliques, see D. Krausmüller, 'The Monastic Communities of Stoudios and St Mamas in the Second Half of the Tenth Century', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Theotokos Evergetis*, 67–85.

<sup>12</sup> Here the word used is *agridion*.

<sup>13</sup> In his edition of the text, Gautier ('*Théotokos Evergetis*', p. 16, n. 4) pointed out that there is a discrepancy between the indiction number and that of the year. He maintained that the number of the year ought to be 6657 and the date therefore June 1049; on indictions and Byzantine systems of dating see *ODB*, vol. 1, *s.v.* Chronology, pp. 448–9. Since the Feast of the Dedication of the monastery falls on 29 December, see n. 19, it may be suggested that it took Paul some six months to establish a functioning monastery.

<sup>14</sup> Since a new indiction began on September 1, Timothy arrived very early in the third indiction, i.e. September 1049. As he arrived within three months of Paul's own arrival, this adds point to the phrase 'as it were following him'.

**3. Concerning the date of the death of our holy father the first founder; and that in his Will he left the monastery in a meagre form to our saintly<sup>15</sup> father *kyr* Timothy its second founder, and that he established it in its present magnificent form; also concerning his acquisitions.**

So then, as we have said, the blessed man came here and set aside the place for a monastery, building small cells and tonsuring a few men including me.<sup>16</sup> After he had completed those great and marvellous struggles, he lived for only five years, and was taken away to everlasting bliss on the 16 April in the year six thousand five hundred and sixty two,<sup>17</sup> leaving to me in his Will the monastery in that small and simple form in which he had established it.<sup>18</sup> You yourselves know and the truth demonstrates how it changed after it was left to me in such a small and very insignificant form through the intercessions of my Lady the Evergetis and his holy prayers, how it grew from being unimportant and incomplete into this imposing and most magnificent form, furthermore how a church was built from the very foundations to the Mother of God Our Lady the Evergetis,<sup>19</sup> and

<sup>15</sup> Here again the word *hosios* is used, see n. 7.

<sup>16</sup> The early cells may simply have been small rooms abutting the existing farmstead. The later mention of 'much better cells' implies that the latter were stone built; the early ones may have been no more than rough shacks. See Rodley, 'Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like', pp. 21–2. The *koura* or tonsure is recorded in Byzantium from the fifth century CE as accompanying the taking of monastic vows, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2093–4. It was performed by the *begoumenos*. Tonsuring was an early part of the process by which a relationship was established between the *begoumenos* and his monks. Timothy's tonsuring among the earliest members of the community may have given him an advantage when Paul had to decide on his successor. It is surely no accident that he took as his monastic name that of the chief disciple of the Apostle Paul.

<sup>17</sup> Paul died on 16 April 1054. The statement that this took place five years after his arrival is a further reason to correct the date given earlier in the document for Paul's arrival at the site of his monastery (see n. 13).

<sup>18</sup> A private monastic foundation and its control could be bequeathed in the same way as other property so long as it did not cease to be a religious institution. Paul designated Timothy as his heir and left both his property and the position of *begoumenos* to him. See Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 154–5.

<sup>19</sup> The Virgin Mary was given many epithets in Byzantium. The term 'Theotokos' refers to her role as 'God-bearing', the 'Mother of God', and was used as early as the third century CE. 'Evergetis' or 'Benefactress' is one of the virtues ascribed to the Virgin, many of which were derived from metaphors used in liturgical poetry, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2175–6. Three chapels were eventually built in the monastery: one dedicated to the Holy Apostles, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 (Feast of the Dedication of the monastery), another dedicated to the Saviour, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, VIII.06 (Feast of the Transfiguration), and a third dedicated to the Theotokos, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, III.25 N.6, N.7 (Feast of the Annunciation) and P.03. For

how cells were constructed much better than the previous ones, the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths, in short all the remaining adornment of the most holy church, and in addition the landed property acquired to support and maintain the monastery. It is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the *brebion*.<sup>20</sup> But keeping to our purpose we must turn in our discourse to the canonical procedure.<sup>21</sup>

But O God and Lord of all, O ever-praised Mother of Our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, I pray these instructions may be effective and productive for both us and those after us until the end of the present age through the valuable prayers of your servant, our father and founder.

So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse<sup>22</sup> and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light, that is, the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

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the importance of the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople, see V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress: the Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London/New York, 1994), and B.V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> The inventory or *brebion* of the monastery in which its lands, properties and liturgical objects, vestments, cloths, books and title deeds were enumerated has not survived. On *brebia* see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 321. However, there is a near contemporary *brebion* for the monastery set up by Gregory Pakourianos at Bačkov in present day southern Bulgaria in 1083 which lists property, liturgical vessels and vestments, church furnishings and books as well as chrysobulls, land survey documents and records of land purchase. For a detailed examination of this document and its contents see *Pakourianos Typ.* For further discussion of the *brebion* see Introduction, A. 1: The Evergetis Dossier and B. 5: Monastic Officers at the Evergetis; 6: Status and Possessions of the Evergetis and 9: Reading and Books at the Evergetis.

<sup>21</sup> The Greek word *akolouthia* can be used with a number of different meanings; in this document it means the general 'procedure' of the worship in the church. It is in the *Synaxarion*, however, that the propers for a particular office or service were specified.

<sup>22</sup> In its earliest form this document did not have the chapter divisions and chapter titles that we find in it now (see n. 1). Instead we may assume that there was a system of paragraphs which were dictated by a series of internal dividers buried within the present text. Of these dividers 'So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse' is the first. For the subsequent dividers see Introduction, C. 16.

**4. Concerning the psalm singing of the First Hour and concerning the prayers, and that after the worship of *Orthros* and the First Hour have been completed the brothers should go away to their cells and chant the obligatory procedure.<sup>23</sup>**

So then after the worship of *Orthros*, the First Hour should be chanted by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited: 'Thou who at all times and all hours' and what follows.<sup>24</sup> After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor, but the weak should have some low supports.<sup>25</sup> Three of these should be completed in a more leisurely manner in as much as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out 'God, be merciful to me the sinner',<sup>26</sup> then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say three times in the same way 'I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me.' But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the *ekklesiarches* or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.<sup>27</sup>

That should take place when 'God is the Lord' is not chanted during *Orthros*;<sup>28</sup> but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should

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<sup>23</sup> The liturgical day for the Byzantines, like the Jews, technically began in the evening with *Hesperinon*. For the full pattern of the liturgical day see Introduction, B. 7. The term 'Hour', first used here, does not indicate a division of time, but rather a liturgical office.

<sup>24</sup> 'Thou, who at all times and all hours...' is the opening phrase of the so-called Prayer of the Hours which is used at the end of all the Hours.

<sup>25</sup> The customary number of genuflections was 15, see for example *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.12 N.1. The word used for 'supports' (*hyposterigmata*) does not indicate what these might be, but some kind of low stool, which would supply support to the sick or elderly is likely. Our thanks to Carolina Cupane of the Austrian *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* team for her assistance with this linguistic puzzle.

<sup>26</sup> Lk. 18:13.

<sup>27</sup> The *ekklesiarches* was the third ranking monk, after the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos*. Amongst his other duties, for which see Introduction, B. 5, 7, 9, he was responsible for the chanting in the church and the general conduct of the worship there. For other references to the *ekklesiarches* see chs 6, 19, 26 and 36.

<sup>28</sup> 'God is the Lord', Ps. 117:27 [118:27], is a response chanted during the introductory section of *Orthros* in answer to verses taken from the psalms. But instead of this response, 'Alleluia' was used on about 146 days of the year according to the *Synaxarion*. Possibly 'Alleluia' was originally chanted throughout the year and was gradually replaced on occasion



be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised: 'Oh eternal God, everlasting Light without beginning, the Maker of all creation.'<sup>29</sup> Immediately after the prayer the short *katechesis* from the words of the Fathers should take place, read by the *proestos*, just as we received it from our most blessed father, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *Synaxarion*.<sup>30</sup> At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* which is prescribed for us should<sup>31</sup> take place and to it the following prayer should be joined: 'Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds.'<sup>32</sup> That is to take place when the *katechesis* is read as has been made clear; otherwise the *trisagion* should be omitted and the prayer recited to follow the other prayer before the *katechesis*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following:<sup>33</sup> 'Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord',<sup>34</sup> and 'The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice'<sup>35</sup> and 'In every place lifting holy hands

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by 'God is the Lord', at first on Sundays, see J. Mateos, 'Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin', *PrOC*, 11 (1961) 17–35; 201–20, see esp. p. 203.

<sup>29</sup> 'O eternal God...' is the beginning of the prayer immediately before the *katechesis* (homily) in the First Hour. At this point we have moved on from *Orthros* and are now in the office known as the First Hour which at Evergetis every day followed immediately after *Orthros*. But on later changes to this see Introduction, B. 7 and n. 109.

<sup>30</sup> The word '*katechesis*' means 'instruction'. The *proestos* or *begoumenos* was to deliver a short homily which was related to the current point of the liturgical year or to the saint being commemorated on that day. The *Synaxarion* in fact presents a more complex routine in the matter of the *katechesis* at the First Hour than that which appears here in the *Hypotyposis*, see Introduction, A. 1 and B. 7 with n. 109. The phrase 'just as we received it from our most blessed father' suggests that the prescription of having a *katechesis* each day during the First Hour was laid down by Paul who is clearly the one referred to. This phrase might refer to a collection of Paul's homilies from which the *katechesis* had to be taken but is more likely, however, to be a procedural instruction from Paul. The phrase 'words of the Fathers' refers to the fact that many of Paul's *katecheseis* were re-worked from works by other, respected spiritual writers of the past, see Introduction, B. 9 and Appendix 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Trisagion* (meaning 'thrice-holy') is the name given to the *troparion* 'Holy is God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy on us'.

<sup>32</sup> The opening phrase of a prayer appropriate for a dawn service and said at the end of the First Hour.

<sup>33</sup> This statement refers to the traditional Byzantine posture during prayer. See, for example, the illustrations in D. Talbot Rice and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Byzantium* (London, 1959), pp. 21, 23. Three quotations from the Bible are then added as authority for this.

<sup>34</sup> Ps. 133:2 [134:2].

<sup>35</sup> Ps. 140:2 [141:2].

without anger or quarrelling.<sup>36</sup> When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken his customary one also,<sup>37</sup> all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the *proestos* asking for your prayers like this: 'Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,' you should answer, 'May God save you, honoured father; and you, pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.' Then again the *kathegoumenos* praying should say, 'May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.'

Then you should stand up and depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter and disorderly laughter.<sup>38</sup> For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia*<sup>39</sup> and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says: 'To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.'<sup>40</sup>

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind most vigilant, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the *epistemonarches*,<sup>41</sup> and if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices who behave carelessly should be punished, but rather those who have spent many

<sup>36</sup> 1 Tim. 2:8 (correcting Gautier's identification 2 Tim. 2:8) with two slight modifications.

<sup>37</sup> Probably the prayer that begins 'O eternal God...' (cf. n. 29) followed by 'Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds' (cf. n. 32).

<sup>38</sup> Idle talking and arguing are topics which are also condemned in later *typika* of the Evergetine 'family', see *PhoberosRule*, ch. 9, p. 895; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 13, p. 806; *MamasTyp*, ch. 47, p. 1026. For the Evergetian 'family' see Introduction, C. 18: The Influence of the Evergetis *Hypotyposis*. On idle talking see also n. 96 and ch. 21, p. 191 and n. 242.

<sup>39</sup> On *akedia*, a common monastic temptation, see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 44–5, and John Klimakos (Climacus), *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. C. Luibheid and N. Russell (London, 1982), p. 80, n. 10; Step 13, pp. 162–4. See also *EvSynag*, vol. 3, Topic 13.

<sup>40</sup> Basil the Great, b. Caesarea in Cappadocia c. 329, d. probably in Caesarea on 1 January 379. Hence that is the date of his commemoration. See Ps. Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae*, ch. 12, PG, 31, col. 1376A–B.

<sup>41</sup> The disciplinary official who enforced decorum at services and in the *trapeza* or refectory, see also ch. 31.

years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as the author of *The Ladder* says somewhere concerning this.<sup>42</sup> Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections in the manner mentioned above, I mean the six psalms, the Third Hour and the Sixth according to custom when the *semantra* are struck.<sup>43</sup> For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when 'God is the Lord' is chanted, as we have said.<sup>44</sup> So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down, but we will avoid this also in our cells whenever there is an *Agrypnia* because of the weariness that comes from that,<sup>45</sup> also during the twelve days of Christ's Nativity, during Renewal Week, and further, during the nine days after the feast for the Dormition of our most holy Lady, the Theotokos Evergetis.<sup>46</sup> So the ritual of the Third, Sixth and First Hours should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.<sup>47</sup>

**5. Concerning the Holy Liturgy, and that no one is to receive communion without an instruction from the *proestos*, nor should anyone think himself unworthy of communion without informing him.**<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The author of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* was called John Scholastikos or John Sinaites; later he became known as John Klimakos (John 'of the Ladder') after his work. He was born c. 579 and died c. 650. For details of his life and writings see John Klimakos, *The Ladder*, Introduction.

<sup>43</sup> The six psalms referred to here are presumably the three psalms of the Third Hour and the three of the Sixth Hour, and should not be confused with the *hexapsalmos*, or set of six psalms, that begins *Orthros*. The *semantron* is the instrument used to summon the monks to worship in the church or to private prayer in their cells. It generally consists of a long piece of wood which is repeatedly beaten with another short piece, though bronze *semantra* are also used, see chs 6 and 9 and Introduction, B. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Ps. 117:27 [118:27]; see nn. 28 and 61.

<sup>45</sup> An *Agrypnia* (Vigil) was carried out in the church at Evergetis each Saturday night as well as before the twelve major feasts. See n. 83 for further discussion.

<sup>46</sup> The feast of Christ's Nativity started on 20 December. There are five forefeast days, 20–24 December, and six afterfeast days, 26–31 December. Renewal Week is the week following Easter Sunday. 16–23 August are the nine afterfeast days for the feast of the *Koimesis* (Dormition) of the Virgin (15 August).

<sup>47</sup> This sentence is clearly another internal divider; see n. 22 above.

<sup>48</sup> The Holy or Divine Liturgy took place after the Sixth Hour and before the first meal of the day and according to this passage was to be celebrated in the monastery each day, though the beginning of ch. 10 seems to contradict this. The *Synaxarion* also presents us with a rather different picture; for example, the Divine Liturgy was only celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays during Lent and on Maundy Thursday, unless the Feast of the Annunciation fell during the fast, on this see also Introduction, B. 7: Liturgical Practice at the Evergetis. Topics

It is necessary now to speak about the divine mystery,<sup>49</sup> which must of necessity be celebrated in the church each day,<sup>50</sup> but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our Orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean, the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought<sup>51</sup> that is impure and sown by the Devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the *proestos* to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day.<sup>52</sup> This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him,'<sup>53</sup> and again, 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you,'<sup>54</sup> and as the divine apostle says, 'He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit'<sup>55</sup> and as the most gentle David says conversely, 'They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish.'<sup>56</sup>

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32 and 33 of Book 4 of the *Synagoge* deal with the power inherent in the celebration of the Liturgy and with what aim and attitude a monk should attend it. Topic 34 deals with the benefit derived from partaking of the holy elements on a daily basis.

<sup>49</sup> Divine Liturgy.

<sup>50</sup> Daily celebration of the Liturgy is the subject of a number of Topics in the *Synagoge*; see *EvSynag*, Book 4, Topics 29–30; 32–4.

<sup>51</sup> To translate the Greek word *logismos* as 'thought' is to cover only one of its possible meanings. In a monastic context, *logismos* generally means an evil or diabolically-inspired thought or train of thought. The concealing of such thoughts might lead to arrogant words and unreasonable acts. As Theodore of Stoudios put it, 'An inappropriate thought (*logismos*) is a beginning and root of the sins among us. If it is exposed, by the mercy of God it is put to flight, but if it is hidden, little by little it passes on into acts of darkness.' See Theodore of Stoudios, *Lesser Catecheses*, ed. Auvray and Tougaard, p. 465, ll. 17–20. For the disclosure (*exagoreusis*) of such thoughts to a spiritual director see ch. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Basil the Great, in a passage selected by Paul for his *Synagoge* (Book 4, Topic 34.3), advocated that there was spiritual benefit in partaking of communion each day; nevertheless, he goes on to say that he himself partook four times each week. Later on in this chapter it is suggested that those monks who have the right spiritual qualities should 'partake of the holy elements' (take communion) three times each week, whereas those who do not, are to partake once each week, or not at all, according to the decision of the *proestos* or *hegoumenos*.

<sup>53</sup> Jn. 6:56.

<sup>54</sup> Jn. 6:53 with adaptations.

<sup>55</sup> The Apostle Paul in 1 Cor. 6:17.

<sup>56</sup> Ps. 72:27 [73:27].

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for ‘Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood’ says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and chief of the apostles.<sup>57</sup> This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts<sup>58</sup> and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and like things, should partake of communion three times a week.<sup>59</sup> But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the *proestos* of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However, it is permitted that those who should partake of communion chant the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

## 6. A regulation concerning the Ninth Hour, *Hesperinon* and *Pannychis*, then next concerning the *Mesonyktika* and *Orthros*.<sup>60</sup>

The Ninth Hour should be chanted in the same way as the preceding Hours, with the striking of the *semantron* calling you to it as is usual. The regulation in the *Synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of *Hesperinon* should be carried out, with *Pannychis* immediately next, as well as *Apodeipnon* after the supper. During these you should genuflect whenever you are not to celebrate

<sup>57</sup> 1 Cor. 11:27 with considerable modifications, indicating that the author was probably quoting from memory. Since the Divine Liturgy is the central and most important part of the daily religious life of the monk, the author has called on scriptural authority to underline the need to approach it with the right attitude and the consequences of not doing so.

<sup>58</sup> See n. 51.

<sup>59</sup> Frequent communion was also recommended in other *typika* in the Evergetine family, see *BMFD*, Appendix C, Part One, vol. 5, p. 1718. But *Kecharitomenē Typ*, ch. 33, p. 687, for example, does not specify how often.

<sup>60</sup> For the celebration and timing of these offices see Introduction, B. 7.

a feast, and by feast we mean a day that includes 'God is the Lord' at *Orthros*.<sup>61</sup> When *Apodeipnon* has been chanted and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the First Hour and incline your ear well to the *proestos* as he says, 'Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed and in thought,' and you should grant him forgiveness, saying, 'May God forgive you, father.' But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, 'Forgive us also yourself, honoured father, for we have sinned in deed, word and in thought,' then again he should pray for you and say, 'May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.'

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock<sup>62</sup> learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the *proestos*, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a rhythmic fashion, 'Bless, O saints.' Then when he has struck the *semantron* in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the *Mesonyktikon* office,<sup>63</sup> which he himself will also chant all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great *semantron* and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship.<sup>64</sup> The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.

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<sup>61</sup> Ps. 117:27 [118:27]. The standard response used at *Orthros* was 'Alleluia,' but on Sundays and other feast days 'God is the Lord' was substituted (cf. n. 28). Thus the use of 'God is the Lord' at *Orthros* marked out any day as a feast day.

<sup>62</sup> Since it was necessary to mark the passing of time during the night as well as the day, the clock at Evergetis may well have been a water clock. The monastic rule written by Theodore for the monastery of Stoudios (*Theodore Rule*, ch. 2, p. 98) mentions a water clock (*clepsydra*) which at a given moment produced a sound which wakened the monk charged with getting the other monks up for the services at night. For Byzantine clocks see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 947 under *horologion*.

<sup>63</sup> The short private office of *Mesonyktikon* (Midnight Office, for which see also Introduction, B. 7) was carried out by the monks in their cells before going to the church for *Orthros*. The monk distributing the lights was obliged to recite this office to himself as he went about his duties in the church. The *Synaxarion* (see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.59 O) sets out a slightly different routine with the *ekklesiarches* going to the *proestos*, an assistant of the *ekklesiarches* giving out lights and it adds that the *Mesonyktikon* included a recitation of Psalm 118 [119].

<sup>64</sup> The 'dawn worship' is merely a description of the service of *Orthros* which started about the eighth hour of the night and was completed as dawn came.

For after the striking of the bronze *semantron* praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day,<sup>65</sup> and as he praises God he should at once with the censer make the sign of the venerable cross in front of the holy table; and you replying 'Amen' should immediately chant a *trisagion* together with the nineteenth and twentieth psalms and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being chanted.<sup>66</sup>

The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, 'Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever, amen.'<sup>67</sup> After replying 'Amen' the *ekklesiarches* should at once begin the *hexapsalmos*,<sup>68</sup> saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the *hexapsalmos*, the whole office of *Orthros* should next be celebrated as the *Synaxarion* describes.<sup>69</sup> That constitutes the pattern of your daily office.

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<sup>65</sup> 'Praise should be ascribed to God' refers to the initial blessing uttered by the priest: 'Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and undivided Trinity'. This blessing is also used later on in this chapter but the two words 'and undivided' are missing (see p. 159). It also appears in detailed specifications for *Orthros* on Easter Sunday in the *Synaxarion*, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01. At Evergetis there were clearly a number of monks who were also priests; they would have been deputed by the *ekklesiarches* to conduct the worship in the church as need arose.

<sup>66</sup> Psalms 19 and 20 are chanted regularly during the introductory section of *Orthros*. In the text here the reference is to three *troparia* which form part of the introductory section of *Orthros*: 'O Lord, save your people and bless your inheritance...'; 'You who were willingly uplifted on the cross...' and 'Fearful protection and not to be put to shame...'. The third one is categorised as a *theotokion* as it is addressed to the Theotokos. '*Kyrie eleison*' ('Lord have mercy') is used as a frequent response during all services.

<sup>67</sup> For a detailed description of the censuring of the church in preparation for *Orthros* on Easter Sunday, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 O. This concluded the introductory and preparatory section of *Orthros*.

<sup>68</sup> The *hexapsalmos* is the name given to the six psalms which begin the main part of *Orthros*. The psalms are: Pss 3; 37; 62; 87; 102 and 142. After the third and sixth psalm a responsory 'Alleluia' phrase is chanted.

<sup>69</sup> The *Synaxarion* specified for each day what should be those portions of *Orthros* specific for the day ('the propers'). So it was essential for the *ekklesiarches* to consult it prior to each service.



## 7. Concerning life-preserving confession.<sup>70</sup>

We must also speak about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the table must wait for a while.<sup>71</sup> Well then, the *proestos* must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each the appropriate healing. We specify that after the reciting of the psalms at *Orthros* has begun there should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after *Apodeipnon* he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside who are present.<sup>72</sup> He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorise whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts

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<sup>70</sup> The 'disclosure of thoughts' (*exagoreusis*) is an important part of the process of Byzantine spiritual counselling. It is dealt with in Step 4 of *The Ladder* by John Klimakos and forms the subject of Topics 20 and 21 of Book 1 of the *Synagoge*. It was to be a constant process throughout the year and not vary according to the pattern of feast and fast day. Unworthy thoughts, such as jealousy of one's fellows, anger, sexual longings and even hunger were to be disclosed to the monks' spiritual father, who would then give such therapeutic remedies as he saw fit: prayers, fasting or other spiritual punishments. As sin is conceived of in the Orthodox Church as illness of the soul, medical metaphors are frequently used to describe the process of spiritual guidance involved in *exagoreusis*. This was not the same as the sacrament of confession, which could only be administered by a priest, but could be associated with it. In monastic *typika*, regulations usually dictate that the spiritual father who should hear the *exagoreusis* should be the *proestos* or *hegoumenos*, though Symeon the New Theologian took the view that the disclosure could be made to any person so long as their spirituality was beyond question. This extreme view, which implied a denial of the sacraments administered by 'unworthy' priests, was not generally followed. See I. Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, trans. A.P. Gythiel (Kalamazoo, MI, 1990); Turner, *St Symeon*, chs 6, pp. 99–104 and 7, pp. 135–43. For the *hegoumenos* or *proestos* as spiritual father, see Galataridou, 'Byzantine *ketorika typika*', pp. 108–9. See also n. 199, below.

<sup>71</sup> The short phrase 'and the discourse ... while' should be viewed as another of the internal dividers which were integral to the original version of the *Hypotyposis*, see n. 22. The purpose of this one is to increase the importance of the section on confession and include it in the overtly religious topics of the document.

<sup>72</sup> This 'private place' was probably near or in the church, as the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* is to hear suppliants during services. Since *Orthros* was a morning service, those who would be in the monastery during the early morning could then be heard. Others, such as the *oikonomos* (whose duties might take him on overnight visits to the monastic estates) or those tending to the sick (ch. 41), might need to leave directly after *Orthros*, or might not be present at it. Their confessions could be heard later in the day, after *Apodeipnon*, the meal taken at dusk.

that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble,<sup>73</sup> and to remit them and grant forgiveness.<sup>74</sup> But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the *proestos* by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing.<sup>75</sup> So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.

So then you, my brothers, seeing the *proestos* hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbour that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says 'Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood.'<sup>76</sup> So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope, namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual

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<sup>73</sup> Timothy earlier refers (see ch. 3) to the expansion in the house that he undertook, which implies an increase in monastic numbers. The *proestos* or *begoumenos* thus delegated to those who were priests and to the more experienced monks the hearing of less serious *exagoreuseis*, whilst reserving to himself the more serious spiritual problems referred to him by his assistants and possibly also those of the novices. Book I, Topic 21 of the *Synagoge* is concerned with confession. Its title, which neatly encapsulates the process, reads: 'Concerning the fact that it is necessary to set one's *logismoi* before the discernment of the fathers and not entrust them to just anyone; and how it is necessary to disclose one's thoughts (*exagoreuein*) and ask questions; and with what faith it is necessary to receive the answers of the fathers and co-operate with them'.

<sup>74</sup> Forgiveness of sins should be preceded by genuine repentance and confession and once this has been achieved, the sinner is reconciled with the church, see C.N. Tsirpanlis, *Introduction to Eastern Patristic Thought and Orthodox Theology* (Collegeville, MN, 1991), p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> Again the language of illness and healing is used; the *proestos* or *begoumenos* is compared to the most experienced of doctors.

<sup>76</sup> Ps. 5:7 [5:6]. The psalms were a very frequently quoted source of biblical authority and were well known by the monks.

passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, 'Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart.'<sup>77</sup> What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would have been necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he might come to his senses held us back from such a purpose. However, for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what does he gain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession, or rather does not harm and ruin follow and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul.<sup>78</sup> The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows: 'If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his *proestos* all the secrets of his heart stripped bare.'<sup>79</sup> So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will possess later on something that

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<sup>77</sup> Mat. 11:29.

<sup>78</sup> The Greek adjective '*akoinonetos*', literally meaning 'having no share in', has been translated as 'excommunicated' in the sense that a miscreant is to be excluded from taking communion. The writer of the *typikon* accepts that it should logically follow that the sinner should also be expelled from the monastery, but is loath to take this path as it would make further spiritual progress and possible repentance more difficult. There is an extremely personal tone to this passage, which suggests the writer's long experience in dealing with such matters.

<sup>79</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae*, XXVI, PG, 31, col. 985C–D. The phrase comes at the beginning of St Basil's exposition of the topic: 'Concerning the setting forth of all the hidden things of the heart to the *proestos*'.

is more sure; for the author of *The Ladder* says 'Cuts that are exposed will not become worse,' and again, 'A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.'<sup>80</sup> So the revelation of one's own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the *proestos* himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts; but the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the *proestos* alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one.<sup>81</sup> These things should be so.<sup>82</sup>

## 8. Concerning *Agrypniai*:<sup>83</sup> and when they must take place.

Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts the *Synaxarion* will inform you most precisely, and you should carry them out always in accordance with it.<sup>84</sup> *Agrypniai* should also take place following the prescribed form every Sunday, at

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<sup>80</sup> John Klimakos, *Ladder*, IV, pp. 93; 107. These quotations come from Step 4 of *The Ladder* concerning obedience. The first is an exact quotation and the second has only one very insignificant variation from the original.

<sup>81</sup> A reference to the entry into the monastic noviciate and the confession which is made to the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* on the occasion when the postulant is tonsured.

<sup>82</sup> The phrase 'These things should be so' is another of the internal dividers (cf. nn. 22, 71). It marks the end of the topic of confession which is followed by the short ch. 8 as an epilogue to the earlier prescriptions on the liturgical routine (chs 4–6). This chapter on confession could therefore, just as easily – and perhaps more sensibly – have been placed after ch. 8.

<sup>83</sup> The *Synaxarion* devotes a section near the end (*EvSynax*, vol. 2, APP.1) to outline how the *Agrypniai* (Vigils) for each Sunday were to be carried out. After *Apodeipnon* on Saturday evening, the monks were to go to their cells, presumably to rest and gather their strength. When summoned to the church by the *semantron* they were to chant *Pannychis*. Then the 'great *semantron*' was to be sounded and the monks were to begin *Orthros*; at the end of this they were to go on to the First Hour without a break.

<sup>84</sup> At Evergetis the dates of the three fasts are: (a) the Christmas fast from 15 November to 24 December; (b) the great fast of Lent, a movable one, begins seven weeks before Easter ending strictly on the day before Palm Sunday since the following week, Holy and Great Week, also observed as a fast, is of heightened significance; (c) the fast of the Holy Apostles, varying in length from eight days to six weeks depending on the date of Easter, begins on the Monday eight days after Pentecost and ends on 29 June. The *Synaxarion* devotes considerable attention to the liturgical routine of these fasts, see especially *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.01–60, dealing with Lent.

a feast of the Lord and at commemorations of other saints which we will find out from the *Synaxarion*.

## 9. Concerning the table and diet.

It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body.<sup>85</sup> For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God's help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes to increase his monastery to be no less concerned about these things.<sup>86</sup> So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.<sup>87</sup>

After the customary collation has taken place in the *narthex*,<sup>88</sup> when the Divine Liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should gather and

<sup>85</sup> The matters of diet and behaviour in the *trapeza* (refectory) are inextricably bound up with the liturgical life of the monastery throughout the year. Therefore these matters are placed as a prelude to a discussion of how the fasts and feasts are to be observed by the monks.

<sup>86</sup> The division into two elements, soul and body, appears also in ch. 1 where the author is giving reasons for drawing up the *Hypotyposis*. There he states that he wishes first of all to set down in writing the whole of their routine of worship and second to leave behind a description of all their way of life, both that which applies to the soul and that which applies to the body. Here, however, we have a slightly different application of soul and body: the soul of the monastery is again said to be the singing of psalms, i.e. the liturgical routine, but all the rest of their way of life is described as representing the body. It is possible that these two passages, both introductory, were composed by different authors, the first in ch. 1 by Timothy and this one by Paul.

<sup>87</sup> This sentence clearly marks the transition from the central topic of the liturgical routine of the monastery to the next topic concerning non-religious matters and the maintenance of the day to day existence of the community.

<sup>88</sup> *Diaklysmos* is defined by Gautier as a 'collation' or 'light meal', of bread dipped in oil, water and wine see P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *REB*, 32 (1974), 1–145, p. 88, n. 5. Lemerle suggested that it consisted of wine and water, see *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), p. 107, n. 9; Bertonière that it was a light meal taken in the *narthex* (entrance) of the church when there was no time for a break in the services, as, for example, during the Easter Vigil, see G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Orthodox Church* (OCA, 193, Rome, 1972), p. 191.

sit there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the *trapeza semantron*.<sup>89</sup> When the *semantron* has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the Liturgy, you should make obeisance to the *proestos* and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm<sup>90</sup> walk to the *trapeza*, that is the *hegoumenos* himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting.<sup>91</sup> Then entering the *aristeterion*<sup>92</sup> and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it,<sup>93</sup> you should sit down in the order laid down by the *proestos*<sup>94</sup> and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by

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Here the *diaklysmos* is described as 'customary' and takes place after the Liturgy. As the monks proceed to the *trapeza* immediately afterwards, it cannot be a meal in itself, more, perhaps, a symbol of fraternity. In *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.60 at the end of the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts, however, reference is made to a *megas* ('great') *diaklysmos*, which takes place on Good Friday and the eve of Easter Sunday in the *narthex* because the monks are observing an abstinence from the *trapeza*. This *megas diaklysmos* would seem to fit the description of a light meal.

<sup>89</sup> See n. 43 on *semantra*. The word *symbolon*, used here and elsewhere to refer to an instrument summoning the monks to the church or the *trapeza* seems to have no distinction in meaning from *semantron*, though it does have the connotation of 'signal', see Introduction B. 7, p. 63 and n. 139. In the *Synaxarion* (vol. 1, XI.19 N) this instrument is referred to as 'the wood of the *trapeza*' which probably indicates that a wooden *semantron* is meant.

<sup>90</sup> The psalm sung on the way to the *trapeza* is Psalm 144 [145]; verses 15 and 16 of which are very appropriate. The singing of this psalm is also referred to in the *Synaxarion* (*EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.19 N).

<sup>91</sup> This little clause 'that is ... sitting', clarifying those who were to walk over to the *trapeza* first, looks as though it was added in at some point when this document was revised. It is strange that the head of the monastery is described as the *hegoumenos* when in the line before and two lines later on he is called the *proestos*. It is not clear who constituted the 'first sitting'. It would surely include the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* and the other holders of monastic offices, but certainly not the monk responsible for reading at the meal. In the early years of the Evergetis, when numbers were few, it is likely that practically all members of the community would have eaten together. On this possible insertion into the *Hypotyposis* see Introduction, C. 14: Insertions in the *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>92</sup> The word *aristeterion* referring to the *trapeza* is only used once. This may well indicate that the opening few words of this sentence should be considered along with the end of the previous sentence as a later insertion, see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>93</sup> See n. 90. The short prayer or blessing is pronounced by the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* before the meal. In the next sentence it is referred to as a 'thanksgiving'.

<sup>94</sup> The allocation of seating by the *proestos* was probably a means of imposing equality and discipline, supervising novices and breaking up undesirable friendships. See A.-M. Talbot, 'Mealtime in Monasteries: the Culture of the Byzantine Refectory', in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds), *Eat, Drink and be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2007), 108–25 and n. 97 (below).



the *trapezarios* to the *proestos*, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the *proestos* wishes.<sup>95</sup>

Moreover, the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter.<sup>96</sup> The *proestos* only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the *trapezarios*. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the *trapeza* even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food, or made to learn self-control in another way as the *proestos* wishes.

So we completely refuse to speak about seating.<sup>97</sup> For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain

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<sup>95</sup> The *trapezarios* was in charge of order in the *trapeza* (refectory), for it was important that monks should be punctual for meals and behave in a respectful way; see also ch. 31.

<sup>96</sup> It was customary, and still is, for meals in monasteries to be taken in silence and for the reading of suitable literature to take place. According to the *Synaxarion* (*EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.13) about two pages of *The Ladder* by John Klimakos was read on most days in Lent in the *trapeza* at Evergetis beginning on Tuesday of the First Week. Other literature to be read in the *trapeza* included the *Life of St Pachomios*, the *Paterikon*, the *Apophthegmata of St Makarios* and, on occasional Sundays, the *Life of St Theodore of Stoudios*, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XI.11 N. Further advice of a more practical nature on the proper behaviour to be observed in the *trapeza* can be found in Book II of the *Synagoge*. In Book II, Topic 23, in an extract from the writings of Abba Esaias, it is stated that the monks' habits should cover their feet and they are to keep their knees together, that they should not lift their faces to look at their neighbours and that they should not look this way and that or speak to anyone except for the most pressing reason. Idle chattering in general is the subject of Topic 47. There an extract of Antiochos Pandektes opens with this bald statement: 'The monk must say many things to God but few to men'; the emphasis of this topic is on the virtue of silence and the need to be brief and very circumspect in whatever has to be said. For the treatment of this subject in other *typika*, see n. 38.

<sup>97</sup> The importance of accepting the allocated places at table is a mark of the differing approach in the monastery, where all signs of hierarchy were to be eradicated, from that in the lay world where rank and importance were often expressed by means of the seating arrangements at ceremonial meals, see S. Malmberg, 'Dazzling Dining: Banquets as an Expression of Imperial Legitimacy', in Brubaker and Linardou (eds), *Eat, Drink and be Merry*, 75–91.



and hated by God? For ‘Everyone proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord,’ says Holy Scripture,<sup>98</sup> and ‘The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble.’<sup>99</sup> So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favour from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart,<sup>100</sup> or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you were found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide<sup>101</sup> by the command of the *proestos* nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable, he is to be driven out of the monastery and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth. For, as some wise man said, ‘Taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue.’<sup>102</sup>

When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the *proestos* reverently, speaking as follows, ‘Bless me, father, I need this.’<sup>103</sup> So if the *proestos* gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to restrain himself and sit down again thankfully in silence.

We do this not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think – for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them to the comfort of our brothers. For why would we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to your service, as has been said? But we do this securing for you reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the

<sup>98</sup> A rather inaccurate quotation of Prov. 16:5.

<sup>99</sup> An exact quotation of Prov. 3:34. See also n. 6.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Ps. 33:19 [34:18].

<sup>101</sup> Some of the syntax in the remainder of this paragraph is rather complex. In comparison, this passage in the *Typikon* of Phoberos has fewer verbal inconsistencies. The confusion in the *Hypotyposis* is possibly caused by an insertion of the words ‘I command ... completely incurable’. Furthermore, there is evidence suggesting that the final words of this possibly insertion were added at a later date. On this see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Some wise man,’ whom Gautier was unable to identify, is St Gregory of Nazianzos and the statement comes from his *Funeral Oration for St Basil* (PG, 36, col. 521D).

<sup>103</sup> This apparently over-stern regulation aims to teach each monk to practise self-control and be satisfied with his lot, especially a restricted diet, in stark contrast to the secular world where feasting and toasts were important elements of the social customs of the wealthy.

majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. Not only are we curbing the inclination of the will, but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

Well then,<sup>104</sup> is not something done in secret a deed of darkness?<sup>105</sup> This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, 'Everyone who does evil does not come to the light lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light.'<sup>106</sup> The apostle also says, 'Anything that is exposed is light,'<sup>107</sup> the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother? 'I am ashamed to ask,' he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates, you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However, I know that many do this, trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realise that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good. We must now return to the point from which we digressed.<sup>108</sup>

So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should chant the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells.<sup>109</sup> At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who

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<sup>104</sup> At this point in *PhoberosRule*, (12th c.) we find a new chapter title: 'Concerning the fact there must be no eating in secret'. Clearly its author, who was copying this document, understood the 'secret deed of darkness' discussed in the rest of this paragraph to be the eating of food in private.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Rom. 13:12.

<sup>106</sup> Jn. 3:20 with some modifications.

<sup>107</sup> Eph. 5:13.

<sup>108</sup> This short sentence is clearly another of the internal dividers that were in place in the document before the chapter divisions and titles were added. See also nn. 1; 22; 47; 82; 149.

<sup>109</sup> The short office after the meal consists in its full form of a prayer of thanksgiving, a doxology, some *troparia* in honour of the Theotokos, Psalm 121 [122] and a *trisagion*.

because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, only bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the *proestos*, you should gratefully partake of these also. Drink will be distributed to you with the larger wine *krasobolion*<sup>110</sup> as is prescribed. But if in fact a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers with the knowledge of the *proestos*, this regulation should not be observed at supper but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.<sup>111</sup>

The *epistemonarches*<sup>112</sup> should go in during the second sittings and if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.<sup>113</sup>

## 10. Concerning the holy fasts.

But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days<sup>114</sup> and especially during the chief and greatest fast,<sup>115</sup> on the first day of which, that is Monday of the First Week, the Liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the

<sup>110</sup> A word chiefly used in monasteries to denote a drinking cup or measure for wine; see Ph. Koukoules, *Bυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols (Athens, 1948–57), vol. 5, p. 156. A ‘larger *krasobolion*’ is mentioned here. Two other measures are also referred to in this document: the ‘larger’ and the ‘smaller’ *exagion*. These were perhaps measuring jugs (the word being derived from the verb *exago* – ‘draw off liquid’ – see LSJ *s.v.* II.2, and Lampe *s.v.* 2).

<sup>111</sup> A reference to the name-day feast of the saint whose name one or more of the brothers had taken when they entered the monastic life.

<sup>112</sup> Another disciplinary official: his duties are more fully described in ch. 31.

<sup>113</sup> This short sentence marks the end of the dietary regulations for the days which are not (a) feasts of the Lord (b) feasts of the Theotokos (c) fast days.

<sup>114</sup> The opening of this chapter is very abrupt and even in English translation gives the feeling that this sentence is really the second part of the final sentence of the previous chapter. Further support for this view comes from *PhoberosRule*, where a new chapter (ch. 27) with a new chapter title follows this point, where the author of that document has a full stop.

<sup>115</sup> The ‘Great Fast’, known as Lent in the West, begins seven weeks before Easter and in strict terms finishes on the day before Palm Sunday, the Saturday of Lazarus. The succeeding week, the Holy and Great Week, is really separate from the six weeks of the main period of fasting, although it too is observed as a fast and is of heightened significance. See also n. 84.

table or food.<sup>116</sup> However, on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavoured with cumin.<sup>117</sup> That is apart from Friday. On this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked without olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger *exagion*<sup>118</sup> because of the feast of the great martyr St Theodore, which the *proestos* must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment.<sup>119</sup> But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish.<sup>120</sup> You should carry out the first week of the great and holy fast in that way.

On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large *krasobolion* should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent<sup>121</sup> and on the Thursday of the Great Canon.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>116</sup> The Divine Liturgy was not celebrated at Evergetis on the first Monday of Lent but the remainder of the liturgical routine was observed, including the recitation of all the Hours communally in the church. Outside the three fasts the Hours were recited privately by the monks in their cells. On the remaining weekdays during Lent (except March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation) the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts was celebrated using bread and wine that had been consecrated on the previous Sunday. This service was attached to *Hesperinon* and the monks partook of the bread and wine. Saturdays and Sundays during Lent were not fast days. On the first Monday of Lent the monks at Evergetis did not eat at all. See also n. 48.

<sup>117</sup> The hot cumin-flavoured water seems to have been specified just for Lent and only on Monday to Thursday of the first week and then on the succeeding Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of the fast. It took the place of the normal Lenten ration of wine. However, at the end of the *Hypotyposis*, after ch. 43, we find a passage added later describing how the specification about the cumin drink was changed. See pp. 117, n. 124 and 212, n. 337.

<sup>118</sup> On the term *exagion* see n. 110.

<sup>119</sup> In the *Synaxarion* there is a paragraph outlining dietary regulations for the feast of the great martyr St Theodore, meaning St Theodore Teron (the Recruit) not St Theodore Stratelates whose feast is on 8 June. Technically the feast of the martyr St Theodore Teron falls on 17 February but was transferred to the first Saturday in Lent. The relevant paragraph in the *Synaxarion* (*EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.2) states that it was *kyr* Timothy who laid down that a relaxation from the fast had to be provided by the current *proestos*, presumably a reference to this sentence in the *Hypotyposis*. Secondly the two cooked dishes were to be chickpea soup and what is probably some sort of pudding (*groute*), see n. 131.

<sup>120</sup> The implication here is that one of the monks might be able to provide specific food for the rest as a result of a gift being brought into the monastery from lay relatives or friends.

<sup>121</sup> That is, Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent.

<sup>122</sup> Thursday of the Great Canon is so called because on Thursday of the Fifth Week of Lent the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete is chanted during *Orthros*. See *The Lenten*

But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one, not both, will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller *exagion*,<sup>123</sup> that is half of the larger one. Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavoured with cumin.<sup>124</sup> But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St John] the Forerunner<sup>125</sup> or the remembrance of the Forty Saints<sup>126</sup> should happen to fall on one of these days, then the fast should be broken and you should eat two dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the larger *exagion*.

*Concerning the eating of fish during the great fast and the feast of the Annunciation.*<sup>127</sup>

You are to eat fish if some are sent by devout people as a refreshment, however, it is not to be procured by the monastery deliberately,<sup>128</sup> and you should take care to celebrate one of these aforesaid feasts<sup>129</sup> when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger *exagion*<sup>130</sup> and gruel.<sup>131</sup> But then, on all the other days of this holy fast you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent to you by someone. If, however, the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then

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*Triodion*, pp. 377–415.

<sup>123</sup> See n. 110.

<sup>124</sup> See n. 117 and p. 212, n. 337.

<sup>125</sup> The commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of the Forerunner (Prodomos) falls on 24 February.

<sup>126</sup> The commemoration of the Forty Saints, that is the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, falls on 9 March.

<sup>127</sup> The Feast of the Annunciation falls on 25 March and so is very likely to fall within the period of Lent.

<sup>128</sup> An indication of contacts with pious lay people outside the monastery.

<sup>129</sup> That is, the discovery of the precious head of the Prodomos and the commemoration of the Forty Saints, see nn. 125 and 126.

<sup>130</sup> See n. 110. See also *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.35 O.9; T.45 N.

<sup>131</sup> This gruel (*groute*) was made from roasted flour mixed with hot water. See n. 119 and A.C. Hero, 'A Brief Commentary on the Language of the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents', in Mullett and Kirby (eds), *Work and Worship*, 250–65, p. 263.

the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast.<sup>132</sup>

*Concerning the Annunciation and its feast.*

When the feast of the Annunciation falls,<sup>133</sup> you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger *krasobolion*.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, on the next day you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the Great and Holy Week.<sup>135</sup> For at that time we will use only shellfish, rather, we will receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week – that is Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday – as on the days of the first week, it is right that we should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavoured with cumin.<sup>136</sup> If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shellfish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger *exagion*, and

<sup>132</sup> This passage gives a clear indication of the often close relationships between monasteries and their surrounding lay communities. The gift of fish could either come from a relative of one of the monks or simply be a pious offering. The scriptural basis for the principle of not making a public display of fasting is Mat. 6:16–18. For a general discussion on fasting, see *The Lenten Triodion*, pp. 13–28 and especially p. 20.

<sup>133</sup> This feast, one of the five feasts in honour of the Theotokos, falls on 25 March, see also n. 127. In monasteries dedicated to the Theotokos this feast had a special significance as does the feast of the Dormition on 15 August. The latter is likely to be the more splendid simply because the feast of the Annunciation usually falls within the period of Lent. In the Evergetis *Synaxarion* the prescriptions for the services are very detailed with numerous variations to allow for the possibility that the feast might fall on a Sunday, on the Saturday of Lazarus, on Palm Sunday, on the various days of the Holy and Great Week, in Renewal Week (Easter Week); notes are also added on such things as the communal Hours and the precise building for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy on this feast day, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, III.25, T.35 O.9. For the celebration of these feasts in another monastery dedicated to the Virgin, see *Echearitomenē Typ.*, chs 59 and 60, pp. 696–7.

<sup>134</sup> See n. 110.

<sup>135</sup> The Great and Holy Week is the name for the week that culminates in Easter Day during which the fasting was carried out to the strictest degree; indeed on Great Friday and Great Saturday there was no main meal in the *trapeza* but a ‘great *diakhlysmos*’ took place in the *narthex*, see n. 88. That no concessions were made to feast days that might fall within this week, even that of the Annunciation, emphasises its importance.

<sup>136</sup> See n. 117 and p. 212, n. 337.

we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Holy Friday, or even Holy Saturday itself.

On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Holy Friday no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger *exagion* because of your weariness from the *Agrypnia*. On Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction should be avoided and there should only be a collation as is customary.<sup>137</sup> In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent should be kept, with care being shown to the sick at the discretion of the *proestos*.<sup>138</sup>

*Concerning the two short fasts, that of the Holy Apostles and that of Christmas.*<sup>139</sup>

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles<sup>140</sup> will be laid down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the Hours and the Divine Liturgy as the *Synaxarion* prescribes in detail,<sup>141</sup> you should be summoned to the *trapeza* at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above,<sup>142</sup> and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil, and drink wine of the larger *exagion*. Also supper should be set out for you consisting of a small piece of bread and the same amount of wine, namely a larger *exagion*, because of the heat and dryness of the season. However, we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we

<sup>137</sup> See n. 88.

<sup>138</sup> Further details about the care of the sick and the infirmary may be found in ch. 41.

<sup>139</sup> This title has obviously been made up from the beginnings of the next two paragraphs. This is yet more evidence for the later insertion of chapter titles throughout the document, see Introduction, C. 15.

<sup>140</sup> The fast of the Holy Apostles begins on Monday, the day after the Sunday of All Saints and eight days after the Sunday of Pentecost, and ends on 29 June. Since the date of Easter varies, this fast can last from eight days to six weeks. The Feast of All Saints in the West is, in contrast, on 1 November.

<sup>141</sup> The *Synaxarion* sets out the general principles of the whole liturgical procedure during this fast, including the Hours and the Divine Liturgy, in a special section at the end, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.58–P.64.

<sup>142</sup> See the beginning of ch. 9 and n. 88 above for the collation in the *narthex* after the Divine Liturgy and the procession to the *trapeza*. The entire twenty-four-hour period of day and night in the Byzantine period was regulated by the rising and setting of the sun and was divided into two periods of twelve hours. This meant that the length of an hour varied according to the time of year, see Introduction, B. 7. If we assume that the fast of the Holy Apostles comes in May, then the beginning of the seventh hour would be about one hour after noon in our reckoning. On the *trapeza* and behaviour at meals see ch. 9.



should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.

The fast of the Holy Nativity<sup>143</sup> will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *Synaxarion*. It will differ from it in these two points only – in not performing the Divine Liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once.<sup>144</sup> For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast whenever ‘God is the Lord’ is not chanted at *Orthros* but ‘Alleluia.’<sup>145</sup> So these rules should be kept in this way.

### **11. Concerning the way that the feasts of Our Lord and those of the most holy Theotokos must be celebrated.**<sup>146</sup>

All the divine feasts of Our Lord and those of our Lady and Evergetis, the most holy Theotokos, should be celebrated by you differently from the rest, in the singing of psalms I mean, in the lighting of lamps and in your own meals. The feast of her holy *Metastasis*, which we in fact call her *Koimesis*,<sup>147</sup> should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner, for it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals. During this feast we order a distribution to be made in the gateway of as much as we are able, and may your hand be

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<sup>143</sup> This fast begins on 15 November and finishes on 24 December.

<sup>144</sup> Unlike the Fast of the Holy Apostles when the Divine Liturgy was celebrated each day, during this fast it was only celebrated for three reasons: (a) if the feast of an important saint or martyr occurred, e.g. 16 November, the feast of the holy apostle Matthew; 21 November, the feast of the Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple; 5 December, the feast of St Sabas; 11 December, the feast of St Daniel the Stylite; (b) if the monastery possessed a relic of the saint or martyr commemorated on a particular day; (c) if a commemoration for a brother occurred. In this case, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated at the tombs. During this fast the *Synaxarion* also gives the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* the option for the Divine Liturgy to be celebrated on a few other days, e.g. 14 December, 21 December. The celebration of the Divine Liturgy meant that the fast was set aside with two meals being eaten on that day, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, with the propers for 15 November (XI.15 especially N.2, N.3, N.4 and N.5). In contrast, during the fast of the Holy Apostles two meals were eaten each day since there was a daily Divine Liturgy.

<sup>145</sup> The single meal was taken about 3.00pm in our reckoning.

<sup>146</sup> In the Orthodox calendar, there are seven feasts of Our Lord and five feasts of the Theotokos; see Introduction, B. 7.

<sup>147</sup> The feast of the *Koimesis* of the Theotokos, also called the Dormition, is called in the West the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

generous.<sup>148</sup> Now that we have discussed these matters sufficiently, we will, as is necessary, mention the others.<sup>149</sup>

## 12. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be independent and under its own control.<sup>150</sup>

We instruct all in the name of Our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone's control and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person,<sup>151</sup> but it should be watched over, steered, governed and directed only by the Theotokos Evergetis, who is worthy of all praise, by the prayer of our most blessed and holy father,<sup>152</sup> and by the one acting as *begoumenos* in it, and

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<sup>148</sup> This passage clearly indicates that, by the time the *Typikon* reached its present form, the monastery possessed enclosing walls and a gate. The amounts to be given in charity are not as clearly specified as they are in other *typika* e.g. *AttaleiatesRule*, ch. 18, pp. 342–3. In this document the monks are simply urged to be generous, which is perhaps a practical solution to the problem that surpluses available for distribution might vary from year to year. On charitable distributions see also chs 36 and 38.

<sup>149</sup> This sentence marks the end of all matters connected to the liturgical routine of the monastery: the daily services and offices in the church or the cells, the fasts and dietary requirements of the feasts. Now the author turns his attention to more practical matters regarding its management. On internal dividers within the document such as this, see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 108; 161 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>150</sup> Evergetis, like many eleventh-century religious houses, was declared by its founder to be free from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the local bishop and from the influence of any lay patron. It was to be *autodespoton* (self-governing), thus all matters associated with its internal governance were to be settled by the monks themselves. The house was in fact placed under the ultimate rule of its dedicatee, the Theotokos Evergetis herself. Many other *typika* of the eleventh century onwards make similar stipulations (see, for example, *EleousaRule*, ch. 18, pp. 186–7; *AttaleiatesRule*, ch. 14, pp. 340–1). For a discussion of the implications of such a legal status see Introduction, B. 6.

<sup>151</sup> A reference perhaps to any claim that the kin of the founder might have to appoint the *begoumenos* or have a say in the management of the house and its property. 'Ecclesiastical rights' refers to the theoretical jurisdiction or at the least, the moral oversight, held by the bishop in whose diocese the monastery was situated, or, in the case of a so-called 'patriarchal' monastery, by the patriarch himself. The 'imperial' monasteries came under the direct oversight of the emperor. Thus this document wishes to exclude all external patronal or jurisdictional rights. See Introduction, B. 6.

<sup>152</sup> Probably Paul, the first founder of the monastery.

furthermore in accordance with the chrysobulls of the emperors now dead<sup>153</sup> by which its freedom and independence from all control is most strongly confirmed for you, and through which you will have an independence undisturbed, completely steadfast and unshaken.

If anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this monastery or put it in subjection or place it under someone's power, whether he be an emperor or a patriarch or some other member of the clergy or of the senate<sup>154</sup> or even the *proestos* of this monastery himself or its *oikonomos* or simply one of its brothers prompted by an attack of the Devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of Our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ and to the Mother of God our Lady Evergetis, but also 'Let him be accursed',<sup>155</sup> as the holy apostle says, and let him inherit the curse of the 318 Holy Fathers and become joint-heir with the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted 'Away with him, away with him, crucify him',<sup>156</sup> and 'His blood be on us and on our children'<sup>157</sup> because this wretched person has treated wretchedly something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil, and set up to be free by those very people who established it,<sup>158</sup> placing it

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<sup>153</sup> A reference to imperial privileges sealed by a golden seal (*chrysoboullon*) granted to protect the independent status of the monastery and already in its possession at the time of the composition of this part of the *Hypotyposis*. The reference to the 'emperors now dead' probably indicates that at least two past rulers are concerned. Since the house was founded in 1048/9 and we know that Timothy was still *hegoumenos* in 1064, 1065 and 1067 (see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 8–9 and nn. 16–18) the rulers concerned could be any or all of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), Theodora (1055–56), Michael VI (1056–57), Isaac I Komnenos (1057–59) or Constantine X Doukas (1059–67).

<sup>154</sup> The senate of Constantinople was created by Constantine I in the fourth century, but by the eleventh century it had only advisory and ceremonial roles. The word *synkletikos*, literally 'senator', was, however, by this time used to describe a social class which could exceed the numbers in the senatorial assembly. Constantine X Doukas, according to the historian Michael Attaleiates, opened up the senate to *myriades* (literally 'tens of thousands') and it is clear that, by the end of the eleventh century, senatorial rank was being awarded to merchants and businessmen in Constantinople. The text is thus referring to a wide group of socially important and influential men rather than merely to the formal members of the Senate. See Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 287–93 and *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1868–9.

<sup>155</sup> Gal. 1:8.

<sup>156</sup> Jn. 19:15

<sup>157</sup> Mat. 27:25.

<sup>158</sup> 'Those very people' probably refers to Paul and Timothy, who are both commemorated as founders in the *Synaxarion*, see *EuSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16.

with malicious and deceitful intent, perhaps, under the power of corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.<sup>159</sup>

Not only this but that thrice-wretched, thrice-accursed one, whoever he might be, has trampled underfoot and counted as nothing the crosses of the emperors of everlasting memory which they with pious intent inscribed upon their chrysobulls when granting independence to the monastery.<sup>160</sup> Will he not be called to account, no matter what his subsequent conduct may be? So then those should be the principles established in this way.<sup>161</sup>

**13. Concerning the installation of the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos*, and the fact that the *hegoumenos* is not allowed to go to the City or anywhere else far away so as to sleep outside the monastery except for the three reasons listed here.**<sup>162</sup>

It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials, of which the most important will always be the most important, I mean that of the *hegoumenos*,<sup>163</sup> but on this matter I must make a small plea for your charity. In the name of My Lord, brothers, I decided previously that there should be two *hegoumenoi*, one a recluse, the other unconfined, and that when the recluse one dies, the unconfined one should enter the hermitage and another person should be appointed by you as the unconfined one in place of him who is now the recluse one, and in order to bring this about I myself made a start as indeed you yourselves also know.

<sup>159</sup> This passage closely echoes and possibly contains verbatim copying from penal clauses to be found in chrysobulls. It is quite possible that the drafter of this section of the *Hypotyposis* had, at this point, consulted the Evergetis chrysobulls. For penal clauses and the curses contained in them see R. Morris, 'Curses and Clauses: the Language of Exclusion in Byzantium' in *Toleration and Repression in the Middle Ages*, ed. K. Nikolaou (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Athens, 2002), 313–26, and H. Saradi, 'Cursing in the Byzantine Notarial Acts: A Form of Warranty', *Byzantina*, 17 (1994), 441–533.

<sup>160</sup> The crosses referred to form part of the imperial signature on chrysobulls, but the possible contravention of the terms of the chrysobull is being metaphorically equated here with the actions of iconoclasts, heretics or pagans who are often described as trampling on the Cross of the crucifixion. For the significance of the Cross in Byzantium and the use of a cross as part of a signature, see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 549–53 and L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 152–7.

<sup>161</sup> Clear indication of the end of the topic and another of the internal dividers, see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108 and 149 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>162</sup> Again, the heading simply summarises the contents of the chapter.

<sup>163</sup> See Introduction, B. 5, on the role of the *hegoumenos* and other officials.

But knowing that good depends on the choice made by each one, I thought that force should not be brought to bear on my successors, for it is an obvious use of force that the unconfined *hegoumenos* should go by command into the hermitage against his will after the death of the recluse one, and it is a very harsh yoke to bear. Furthermore, when the matter is considered, it has been found that it is not beneficial to the community in general. For these reasons, therefore, though envisaging something better, as I think, I have decided that there should be one *hegoumenos* after my death.

So there should be one *hegoumenos*, a recluse, if he wishes to be so, for that should not be totally set aside, but if he does not wish it, unconfined, living the whole time with you without any separation.<sup>164</sup> For he will not be allowed to go to the City<sup>165</sup> or a great distance anywhere else, neither to visit a relative, nor a friend, nor any of his relations, nor an official,<sup>166</sup> nor any other person whatsoever, whether sick or dying, or for any other reason, whether reasonable, unreasonable or even the most pressing, but his excursions will be both in the area surrounding the monastery and in our estates close to it, returning from these quickly lest he should be caught sleeping somewhere outside the monastery.<sup>167</sup> He will leave it if an emperor or patriarch happens to summon him,<sup>168</sup> or if some enemies make a raid, when all of us are forced to leave.<sup>169</sup> For these reasons only

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<sup>164</sup> Clearly Timothy at first envisaged, but later rejected, a dual governance for the monastery. For further detailed discussion of this issue and its implications for the dating of this document see Introduction, B. 4: The Double Hegoumenate.

<sup>165</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>166</sup> The Byzantine Greek *archon* is used for anyone possessing high rank or power. Thus it can refer to all those having direct contact with the emperor and, for example, the governors of cities or provinces. See *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 160.

<sup>167</sup> Theodore of Stoudios warned his successor as *hegoumenos* not 'to go out frequently or roam about unnecessarily', a prohibition repeated in his *Typikon* by Athanasios the Athonite. See *TheodoreTest*, ch. 10, p. 78 and *AthanasiosTyp*, ch. 33, p. 259. This is the first mention of the estates belonging to the Evergetis, see also ch. 34.

<sup>168</sup> On occasion *hegoumenoi* were sent by the emperors to regulate matters in other communities. Kosmas Tzintziloukes, for example, probably the *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of the Anargyroi in Constantinople, was sent by Constantine IX Monomachos in 1045 to adjudicate disputes over the monastic life led on Mt Athos, see *MonomachosTyp. Hegoumenoi* certainly attended church synods, see, for example, Gautier, 'Synode des Blachernes'.

<sup>169</sup> If, as we believe, this passage forms part of Paul's original *typikon*, it would have been drafted c. 1050 and the enemy raids referred to could either be the sea-borne attack of the Rus on Constantinople in 1043, or the attacks of the nomad Petchenegs after 1046, which came as far south as Adrianople (Edirne). See S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200* (London, 1996), pp. 216–17 and P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 89–93. As the Evergetis was outside the walls of Constantinople, it would have been particularly vulnerable to attack.

will he be free to go to the City, since visits to the aforementioned estates act as a relief from *akedia*.<sup>170</sup> For our instruction in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All will be laid upon him as an indissoluble bond and be thought of as an unscalable wall as the divine David says,<sup>171</sup> and as a door that will be barred against him to prevent him going from here to the City and sleeping anywhere else. If he should ever transgress this instruction, treating it as of no account, he will be excommunicated. These provisions are so that the *proestos* should never go out of the monastery;<sup>172</sup> and now I must set down in writing how he should be appointed.<sup>173</sup>

After I have completed this mortal life, the one who is left by me as *proestos* should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline and their spiritual state and way of life,<sup>174</sup> and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as *oikonomos*;<sup>175</sup> and he should install him in the following way.

After the dismissal from *Orthros* and the customary prayer said by the priest,<sup>176</sup> a *trisagion* should be said by all, and the one chosen should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine and revered icons of our Lord Jesus Christ and

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<sup>170</sup> On *akedia* see n. 39. An interesting concern is shown here for the spiritual health of the *hegoumenos*.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Ps. 17:30 [18:29], though the psalmist actually says 'I will get over a wall' which is somewhat contrary to the point being made!

<sup>172</sup> This implies that the nearby lands were included in the term 'monastery'.

<sup>173</sup> The monastery had been left by Paul to Timothy in his Will, now lost (see ch. 3 where the adverb used includes the element *diatheke* meaning 'Will'), thus this seems to be the first formalisation of the process of appointing a *hegoumenos*. It is clear, though, that Timothy will appoint his immediate successor himself and he moves straight on to the process of selecting the *oikonomos*. However, since this latter will eventually become *hegoumenos*, some kind of succession procedure to the hegoumenate is, in fact, being established here.

<sup>174</sup> This phrase mainly refers to the holders of offices within the monastery e.g. the *ekklesiarches*, the *epistemonarches*, *skeuophylax* and perhaps the senior priests amongst the brethren, but also might include long-standing monks, revered for their personal piety. The *Synaxarion* mentions a *protopresbyteros*; his only particular duty is to recite the Easter gospel during the Liturgy on Easter Sunday, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 L.2.

<sup>175</sup> Although consultation takes place, it is clear that the *hegoumenos* is to have the final choice of *oikonomos* and thus, indirectly, his own successor. For the duties of the *oikonomos*, see Introduction, B. 5.

<sup>176</sup> The customary prayer was probably '*Kataxision*, *Kyrie*', followed by the dismissal; since these two elements of the service were standard, the *Synaxarion* does not prescribe them in detail.

of the most holy Theotokos and universal Evergetis.<sup>177</sup> After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the *proestos* and then offer him his head bowed and uncovered, and he, making over it the sign of the venerable cross, should reverently say as follows, 'The intercession of my most holy Theotokos through the prayers of the Holy Fathers is installing you *oikonomos* of the monastery.' Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord, he is to set him in his appropriate place.<sup>178</sup> Next all without exception are to kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow the usual prayer of the priest.

If this *oikonomos* carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you, and being judged by you as fitting for the office of *hegoumenos*, should the *proestos* know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him in leadership over you, since his faultless actions as *oikonomos* have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way.<sup>179</sup> But if the *hegoumenos* should die without knowing in advance, then you, that is those who are most pre-eminent and most devout, should place this *tyikon* on the holy table and rest also the staff against it<sup>180</sup> and when the one selected has entered the holy sanctuary, after the prescribed *trisagion* and these *troparia*: 'Have mercy on us, have mercy, O Lord', 'Lord, Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold and visit',<sup>181</sup> 'Glory both', 'Thou, the only begotten Son, of

<sup>177</sup> The appointing ritual immediately follows the morning service of *Orthros*, possibly taking the place of the First Hour. The chanting of a *trisagion* often indicates the beginning of a minor office, for example the Third Hour and the Sixth Hour.

<sup>178</sup> Further on in this chapter we find another example of kissing a newly appointed official, this time the *hegoumenos*, see also *ChristodoulosRule*, A18, p. 587. At Evergetis on Easter Sunday morning, towards the end of *Orthros*, a ceremony of venerating the Holy Gospel by kissing (*aspasmos*) is prescribed in some detail by the *Synaxarion*. At the end of the ceremony the *Homily* by St John Chrysostom on the *aspasmos* was also read by the *proestos*; on this see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 O.11. It is not clear where the *oikonomos* is to stand. Where prescriptions are very detailed in the *Synaxarion* the impression is given that, apart from the priest and deacon who are on duty on any particular day, the remaining members of the community were divided into two sides, right and left. The *proestos* seems to have had a regular place on the right-hand (north) side of the sanctuary, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.01 *Orthros*; APP.8; APP.9.

<sup>179</sup> A perception of approaching death is commonly expressed in medieval texts of all kinds, see P. Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, trans. H. Weaver (Harmondsworth, 1983). A smooth transition of authority is aimed for here.

<sup>180</sup> Here the *tyikon* itself is used to represent the monastic community and its way of life as encapsulated in the regulations. The *hegoumenos's* staff (like the western bishop's crozier) is a symbol both of his authority and of his role as a shepherd of souls.

<sup>181</sup> Ps. 79:15 [80:14].



the same substance with Thy Father and the Spirit', and thirty repetitions of *Kyrie eleison*, and after he has made three full genuflections before the holy table, you should invite him to take from it the *typikon* and the staff while all repeat 'He is worthy'.<sup>182</sup> You should invite him to go out and stand in his appropriate place and be kissed by everyone and become your next *hegoumenos* appointed by God.<sup>183</sup> Then again he and you should select the one who surpasses you all in virtue, and install him as *oikonomos* in accordance with the regulation stated above. So much for those matters.<sup>184</sup>

What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact we remained unchanged and completely unmoved in our adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honour we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the success it brings, and then when we have gained it we are immediately found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger they are recognised as octopuses again which in fact they were.<sup>185</sup> For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing

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<sup>182</sup> An acclamation also found after the crowning of an emperor, see, for example, Constantine (VII) Porphyrogenetos, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols (repr. Paris, 1967), vol. 2, p. 3.

<sup>183</sup> Since the previous *hegoumenos* is dead, the authority for the appointment is deemed to come from God Himself.

<sup>184</sup> See nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>185</sup> The original reference is surely Homer, *Odyssey*, V.432–34, where Odysseus clings to rocks like an octopus after his shipwreck. It also might be referred to in a *scholion* of Diodorus of Halicarnassus, *Peri tes Homeros Poieseos*, para 10: 'Concerning the way the octopus clings to the rocks after it has been driven out of its hole', which is similar to the comparison here. See also T. Morgan, *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 39, n. 151 for further classical usages. Niketas of Ankyra, active from c. 1038 to 1072/82 (and thus a contemporary of Paul and Timothy) criticises 'foreign bishops' who have wrongly been imposed upon sees by the patriarch, for hanging on to them 'like an octopus (*polypous*) which clings with all its strength to the rocks', see Nicétas d'Ancyre, 'Sur le droit d'ordination' in J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédites d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), no. 4, 176–207, pp. 200–201. We are most grateful to Barbara Crostini Lappin for bringing these references to our attention. See also *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans.

and punishment given as strongly as possible.<sup>186</sup>

#### **14. Concerning the reasons laid down by the founder for the *oikonomos* to be removed and another worthy person installed.**

So if the *oikonomos* should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore, he will rise to the office of *hegoumenos* since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his office in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favours for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has shown himself to be a troublemaker and a dissident contradicting the reasonable regulations of the *proestos*, or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control<sup>187</sup> or has been totally disregarding any of the instructions in the *typikon* and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions<sup>188</sup> or has become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community<sup>189</sup> and therefore has been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness, and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of *oikonomos* and even that of *hegoumenos*. The other will be removed and made subordinate again.

That applies then while the *hegoumenos* is alive and is peacefully guiding your devotion. But should the *hegoumenos* die suddenly and has not removed this bad *oikonomos*, if there is someone who surpasses him in good qualities and is pleasing to you pre-eminent ones,<sup>190</sup> whom we have told the *hegoumenos* to use

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H.J. Magoulas, (Detroit, MI, 1984), p. 7 where John II Komnenos is described as 'hugging the palace ... like an octopus clinging to the rocks' immediately after the death of his father Alexios I in 1118.

<sup>186</sup> The whole of this paragraph, which has a very different style, seems to be a sizeable insertion into the text. Much of this chapter, including this paragraph, does not appear in *PhoberosRule*, the earliest surviving *typikon* modelled on that of the Evergetis, see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>187</sup> See ch.12 where the independence of the monastery is established.

<sup>188</sup> The passions of the flesh in general, including, for example, gluttony and sloth as well as sexual misdemeanours are what are meant here. See *EvSynag*, Book I, Topic 28.2; John Klimakos, *The Ladder*, *passim* but in particular Step 29.

<sup>189</sup> The *Typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos for Mt Athos (1045), noted that 'unsuitable friendships' could lead *hegoumenoi* to ordain young men as deacons and even priests at too young an age, see *MonomachosTyp*, ch. 15, p. 290.

<sup>190</sup> See n. 174.

as advisers, and if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of *hegoumenos*, and with him you should take thought about another, better *oikonomos*.<sup>191</sup>

But if, something I pray God does not allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad *oikonomos* himself will become your *proestos* to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable, and it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the leadership of this worthless man, than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord and quarrelling or even the remembering of injuries. For if you are living in peace and preserving good order, it is impossible that even a little harm should come to you from the leadership of this worthless man. But if you indulge in discord and quarrelling, every evil will follow.<sup>192</sup>

But so that he too, when he has satisfied his wish by seizing authority, may not become careless and remain completely incorrigible and totally incurable, we must not overlook the following either. If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your *hegoumenos* even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man<sup>193</sup> still not give up his evil ways, but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected to the position of *hegoumenos*. The one removed from office may, if he wishes, reside in a cell of the monastery and be accorded the rank and seat of second to the *hegoumenos*, in the *trapeza* I mean, and at the other gatherings, being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However, we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the *proestos* to consider.<sup>194</sup>

Well then, I entreat you, my beloved children in the Lord, I entreat you or rather I instruct you and I call on God as witness of my instruction and overseer

<sup>191</sup> It is of importance to make sure that a suitable *hegoumenos* is appointed immediately, even if it means that he will not first hold the office of *oikonomos*. It will then be *his* task to deal with the unsatisfactory *oikonomos*.

<sup>192</sup> Breaking unanimity was considered potentially more permanently dangerous to the welfare of the community than the temporary setback of an unsuitable *hegoumenos*.

<sup>193</sup> That is, the unsatisfactory *oikonomos* recently promoted to the post of *hegoumenos*.

<sup>194</sup> An unsatisfactory *hegoumenos*, if he agrees to abdicate, will be allowed to stay in the monastery and will be afforded signs of respect, such as an honoured place at table. This contradicts instructions in ch. 9, which forbid any hierarchy at table, see nn. 94 and 97. Otherwise, he can only leave with the permission of the new *hegoumenos*, perhaps by mutual agreement, in order, presumably, to enter another house.

of its carrying out, that when you are examining and selecting the *proestotes* and *oikonomoi*, for my instruction again is addressed to you who are chosen for this task, there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favouritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together as if he was observing you, he the eye 'that beholdeth all things'<sup>195</sup> and 'searcheth hearts and reins'.<sup>196</sup> Your selecting and examining should take place in that way. For if suffering from some human failing you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow; and if 'the righteous' and unerring 'judge'<sup>197</sup> were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defence you would make to secure your escape from condemnation, you who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy person and brought such great harm not only on him but also on yourselves and all the others who are with you, seeing that you have secured perdition for him, yourselves and the others. So then you will not resort to quarrelling and dissensions in your selection, but you should choose the selected person in unanimity and agreement. Of course if you intend to select the chosen person while the *proestos* is still alive and you come to a single agreed wish, the *hegoumenos* will not oppose you, but rather will follow your agreed decision and joint wish and appoint the man selected by you. But if, something I pray does not happen, on the contrary your opinions are split and you are divided, he will propose whichever person he chooses taking no account of you.<sup>198</sup>

**15. Concerning the brothers making their confession to the *proestos* and that none of them should have another spiritual father, and that they should confide their own thoughts<sup>199</sup> to him.**

I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that as soon as your *hegoumenos* has been appointed you hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that

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<sup>195</sup> Sirach 15:18.

<sup>196</sup> Ps. 7:10 [7:9], with some modification.

<sup>197</sup> 2 Tim. 4:8.

<sup>198</sup> Here the author is again referring to the appointment of the *oikonomos*. The *hegoumenos* will accept (albeit perhaps reluctantly) a unanimous choice of the 'pre-eminent' monks; if they are divided amongst themselves, he will make the choice himself. See n. 174.

<sup>199</sup> See n. 51.

have been confessed to previous [*hegoumenoi*] but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that you being human should not think something wicked at some time.<sup>200</sup> Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be 'one',<sup>201</sup> 'being of the same mind',<sup>202</sup> thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold,<sup>203</sup> and fitted together into one body<sup>204</sup> under one head,<sup>205</sup> as the holy apostle says,<sup>206</sup> with the Spirit as the master builder. But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his *proestos* but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavour to confide his thoughts to him,<sup>207</sup> he should be put out somewhere far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity but as someone who removes himself by his own evil, O eyes of 'God that behold all things',<sup>208</sup> evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and be counted a stranger to our group and community, our way

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<sup>200</sup> 'Thoughts' (*logismoi*) had to be carefully monitored and corrected by some discerning and experienced spiritual father as they could be used by the demons to destroy a monk's spiritual life. This monitoring was done through the daily confession, for which see ch. 7 and n. 70. These 'thoughts', arising spontaneously within a monk or provoked by some external cause, could have a variety of forms: spiritual pride, a disparaging view of some members of the community or even a lack of progress in the spiritual life.

<sup>201</sup> See Jn. 17:21 (not Jn. 10:22 as noted by Gautier).

<sup>202</sup> See Phil. 2:2.

<sup>203</sup> The image of the golden chain first appears in Homer, *Iliad*, VIII.19 and was used both by pagans and Christians as 'an image of something extremely precious that both unites and mediates', see A. Wilson, 'The Mediation of the Martyrs: A Golden Chain', (unpublished paper), citing P. Lévêque, *Aurea catena Homeri* (Paris, 1959). Symeon the New Theologian compared generations of saints to 'a golden chain with each one of them a link, bound to all the preceding saints in faith, love and good works', an image of community very similar to the one found here, see Symeon the New Theologian, *The Practical and Theological Chapters and the Three Theological Discourses*, trans. P. McGuckin (Kalamazoo, MI, 1982), 3.4, p. 73.

<sup>204</sup> See Eph. 4:16.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Col. 1:18.

<sup>206</sup> St Paul.

<sup>207</sup> At Evergetis it was accepted that the *hegoumenos* should be the spiritual father of all the monks, though he might depute this role to another senior monk. Symeon the New Theologian, however, argued that the true good of the soul might require a monk to have some other worthier person than the *hegoumenos* as his spiritual father, see Turner, *St Symeon*, pp. 54f; 78–83. See also ch. 7 above, especially n. 70, and *EvSynag*, Book 1, Topics 21 and 39.

<sup>208</sup> See Sirach 15:18.

of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder and serious harm. That man should be treated thus.

## **16. An exhortation to the brothers concerning honour, reverence and obedience for the *proestos*.**

You, that I may turn my attention on you again, should reserve, I beg you, for your *hegoumenos* all honour, all affection, all reverence, all unwavering submission and all obedience as has been said by one of the Divine Fathers. For he says, 'For if those caring for you are going to render account on your behalf, how will we not be submissive to them in everything, obey them and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head?'<sup>209</sup> The divine and great apostle Paul speaks as follows in his letter to the Hebrews: 'Obey your leaders<sup>210</sup> and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account.'<sup>211</sup>

Also for my sake maintain love, peace and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, 'instructing, comforting and forbearing one another, stirring up one another to love and good works'<sup>212</sup> and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, 'This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you'<sup>213</sup> and again, 'By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.'<sup>214</sup> Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal, power and enthusiasm.

<sup>209</sup> Source unknown.

<sup>210</sup> The Greek word for 'leaders' in the quotation is in fact *hegoumenoi*.

<sup>211</sup> Heb. 13:17. Obeying one's *proestos* is the subject of *EvSynag*, Book I, Topics 34–5. On the Sunday of the Holy Fathers [of Nicaea] the *Homily* of St Gregory of Caesarea on the Holy Fathers is read during *Orthros*; the opening phrase is 'Obey your leaders', a quotation of the opening of this verse from Hebrews, see *EvSynag*, vol. 2, P.43 O.5i. It is interesting to note that the passage of St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews quoted here is the apostolic reading prescribed at Evergetis for the Divine Liturgy on 6 December, the commemoration of St Nicholas, and more significantly on 17 January, the commemoration of St Anthony, who was looked upon as the founder of the monastic movement; see *EvSynag*, vol. 1, XII.06 L.2; I.17 L.2.

<sup>212</sup> See Rom. 15:14; 1 Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2; Heb. 10:24.

<sup>213</sup> Jn. 15:17; Jn. 13:34.

<sup>214</sup> Jn. 13:35, though the final phrase is not strictly a quotation.

## 17. An exhortation to the *proestos*.<sup>215</sup>

You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. Yes, I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving 'seventy times seven' in accordance with the word of Our Lord.<sup>216</sup> For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers.<sup>217</sup> Also, to omit the rest, St Basil says 'And the *kathegoumenos* himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically.'<sup>218</sup>

If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp unworthily the office of *begoumenos* or *oikonomos*, making a display perhaps of his seniority or his sphere of work or his noble birth or his rank or his offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you who have been chosen to consider and advise the *begoumenos*, and by the *proestos* himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things.<sup>219</sup> For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For 'God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham'<sup>220</sup> and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, 'God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised

<sup>215</sup> This heading has almost certainly been inserted and the previous exhortation should run on through into ch. 17.

<sup>216</sup> Mat. 18:22. This is almost a checklist of the spiritual and practical duties of the *proestos*. See *BMFD*, vol. 1, Preface, xxxi.

<sup>217</sup> A notably moderate line is taken here.

<sup>218</sup> Ps. Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 28, col. 1417C. This is an almost word-for-word copy of Basil, indicating that the writer had a copy of the original work to hand.

<sup>219</sup> The text is remarkably frank about the possibility or likelihood of worldly status being still of importance in the monastic context. It is interesting to find *begoumenos* and *proestos* in the same sentence – perhaps indicating that the sentence had been reworked, see Introduction, C. 17: A Pauline *Hypotyposis*?

<sup>220</sup> Mat. 3:9, with slight modification.



to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are.’<sup>221</sup>

Those are the instructions concerning the appointment of *begoumenoi* and *oikonomoi*, but I will add to what has been said another small bit also which is both very useful and very necessary.<sup>222</sup>

**18. Concerning the fact that the brothers will not question their *begoumenoi* for what purposes they receive and pay out money, but the *kathegoumenoi* themselves will not spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favours for their relations and friends.**<sup>223</sup>

The brothers will not question their *begoumenoi*, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money.<sup>224</sup> For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin. But neither will the *kathegoumenoi* themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favours for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries ‘in the Holy Spirit.’<sup>225</sup> For if we have judged that they should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of their actions, yet they will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of their conscience. Therefore they should take care not ‘to fall into the hands of the living God.’<sup>226</sup> For even though we are not capable of imposing on them a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet they will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon them in writing this. But if they are seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that they do not even fear the condemnation of God, but spend the wealth of the monastery

<sup>221</sup> I Cor. 1:27–8; this is a compressed version of the original but nonetheless accurate.

<sup>222</sup> The beginning of this codicil is clearly one of the original internal dividers before the document had chapters, see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161; 184 and Introduction, C. 16. This addition appears to be just one short section.

<sup>223</sup> This heading is hardly needed as it summarises what follows in the text.

<sup>224</sup> This is a necessary reinforcement of the authority of the *begoumenos* in a vital area. This passage probably indicates that the flow of money as opposed to gifts in kind was, by this time, extensive.

<sup>225</sup> Rom. 9:1. This is again an aspect of the fear of misuse of the networks of friends and relations. Since monasteries had an obligation to provide for the poor (see ch. 36), it might have been particularly difficult for a *begoumenos* resolutely to reject the pleadings of an impecunious relative or friend.

<sup>226</sup> Heb. 10:31.

improperly, they will be excommunicated until they refrain from such action.<sup>227</sup> It is most necessary that these things be added to what has already been said.<sup>228</sup>

### **19. Concerning the inalienability of the sacred objects, holy icons, and the immovable property, except for the reasons listed here.**

We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable – for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property – and not only inalienable but also completely safe from removal and theft by anyone at all, because they were acquired with much toil and labour and were dedicated as offerings to our Lady and Mistress the most holy Theotokos Evergetis, and the man who hands over any of these or removes them for any reason whatsoever will be liable to the charge of sacrilege and will be subject to the penalties laid down by law for this.<sup>229</sup> For neither we nor any other sensible person could define any reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it.<sup>230</sup> For then they will be removed or handed over with good

<sup>227</sup> The passage 'For if we ... action' appears to be a later insertion into the text, see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>228</sup> This phrase seems to conclude the addition indicated in the last sentence of ch. 17.

<sup>229</sup> For the movable property of the Evergetis see Introduction, B. 6. Punishments for sacrilege, ranging from death to excommunication and the expulsion from office of any monastic or ecclesiastical officer found guilty of it, were established not merely by church councils, but also, from Justinian's time onwards, by the secular law. See *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1827 and for a useful summary of canonical teaching on and punishments for sacrilege, see *EleousaInv.*, ch. 1, pp. 1668–70. The document has been variously dated to the twelfth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

<sup>230</sup> The writer makes no reference to a major scandal involving the melting down of holy vessels at the command of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos in the early 1080s to finance his war against the Normans, see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 270–1, which would suggest that this passage was written earlier. There is no mention of the canonically approved reason for disposing of holy vessels for the ransoming of Christian prisoners. Of the three contingencies mentioned, fire must have been a frequent occurrence (see the unfortunate damage sustained by the Athonite Monastery of Chilandar in 2004); but the references to enemy invasion and earthquake might be more chronologically specific. There were at least six earthquakes in the vicinity of Constantinople between 1010 and 1064, in which year an earthquake struck the western part of the city and its suburbs, precisely the location of the Evergetis, see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 480 and G. Downey, 'Earthquakes

reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved.<sup>231</sup> This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the *proestos*, the *oikonomos*, the *ekklesiarches*, and the other pre-eminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people, with the *brebion* set in the middle of them and each of the removals signed by the *begoumenos*.<sup>232</sup> Furthermore we instruct that there should be a detailed list<sup>233</sup> to indicate the things that have been removed, signed by all those who gathered together and clearly setting out both the types of things removed and the reason for which they were removed; this should be deposited in the *skeuophylakion* to inform posterity.<sup>234</sup> What more?

## **20. Concerning the need for the *docheiarios* to record accurately the income and expenditure of money<sup>235</sup> for the information of all.<sup>236</sup>**

We instruct the person who looks after the income and expenditure of the monastery to record everything in detail, in the case of the income from where it came and when, and in the case of the expenditure the reason for it and on what

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at Constantinople and Vicinity, AD 342–1454, *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 496–600, p. 600. See n. 169 for mid-eleventh-century enemy attacks.

<sup>231</sup> The circumstance envisaged here seems to be that the revenues from the monastic estates or commercial enterprises have been interrupted so that without the sale of holy objects the functions of the monastery, such as charitable provision and the feeding and clothing of the monks, cannot be carried on.

<sup>232</sup> Witnesses and the involvement of the senior members of the community is clearly of importance as is the careful noting of the removal of an object in the *brebion*, see ch. 3, n. 20.

<sup>233</sup> The Greek word here is *praktikon*, an inventory, a word usually used to describe a list of the landed property of a monastery or lay landowner rather than moveable possessions, as here. See *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1711. The writer is very concerned here to establish the legality of any act removing monastic property; it should be established in writing and formally witnessed. A legal expertise, perhaps indicating an administrative experience in the world, is evident here.

<sup>234</sup> The *skeuophylakion*, or sacristy, was the room in which items of value were kept and had its own officer in charge, see ch. 30.

<sup>235</sup> The Greek word here is '*nomismata*'; the *nomisma*, made of gold, was the coin of highest value in the tripartite Byzantine monetary system. On coins see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 478–9.

<sup>236</sup> Another example of a chapter heading being composed from the first few lines of the following chapter.

project, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone.<sup>237</sup> This matter has been mentioned in as fitting a manner as was possible; now our document should move on to other matters and we should speak about them also as well as we can.<sup>238</sup>

## 21. Concerning those who chatter and talk idly that they be admonished by the superior.<sup>239</sup>

If any of your number should gather on some manual task or another service and amuse themselves with idle conversations – for this is usual at gatherings – and then turn to vain chattering – for ‘by a multitude of words,’ he says, ‘thou shalt not escape sin’<sup>240</sup> – they should not reject the admonition of the superior.<sup>241</sup> For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent.<sup>242</sup> For the author of the Book of Proverbs says, ‘If thou refrain thy lips thou wilt be prudent’ and discreet.<sup>243</sup>

Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method; for these people especially must take care to guard their minds at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the Devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock and shepherd.<sup>244</sup> Furthermore they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal

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<sup>237</sup> The importance of keeping written records is emphasised here. The *docheiarios*, whose responsibilities are further mentioned in ch. 30, must obviously have been both literate and numerate.

<sup>238</sup> Clearly a section of the document has come to an end and the writer turns his attention to matters of the daily life of the community.

<sup>239</sup> The word in the Greek is neither *proestos* nor *hegoumenos* but *kreitton*, literally ‘one who is more important.’ This could refer either to one of the monastic officials or a senior monk.

<sup>240</sup> Prov. 10:19.

<sup>241</sup> Again *kreitton* is used, see n. 239.

<sup>242</sup> A manual task or another assignment could be copying or illuminating manuscripts (we know that there was a scriptorium at Evergetis), cooking, building, working the land, in fact any non-liturgical activity. The monk in charge, the superior, was required to stem any idle chatter by suggesting suitably scriptural topics for discussion.

<sup>243</sup> Prov. 10:19. The last two words given by Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis,’ l. 883, as part of this quotation are not, in fact, from the text in Proverbs.

<sup>244</sup> In general neither the monks nor their *hegoumenoi* were allowed to leave the community, but inspections of monastic estates either in the vicinity or further afield, or the

sparrring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness ‘with a contrite heart’<sup>245</sup> he will also be punished – for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn [to say] ‘Bless and forgive me, brother’;<sup>246</sup> – and those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the *proestos*, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behaviour, they will be punished.<sup>247</sup>

## **22. Concerning the fact that they should not have any possessions in contravention of the rule of the monastery, and should not eat or drink in secret etc.**<sup>248</sup>

Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an *obol* or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the *proestos*, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely.<sup>249</sup>

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need to transport produce to market, or summonses by the patriarch or emperor might well make demands on small groups of monks. They would be particularly vulnerable to diabolic temptation when away from the safety of the monastery and its guardians.

<sup>245</sup> See Ps. 50:19 [51:17].

<sup>246</sup> The emphasis here is on harmony within the monastic community and the virtue of forgiveness, matters which have already been discussed in the second paragraph of ch. 7.

<sup>247</sup> A perpetual concern of monastic leaders was the formation of cliques and factions within the monastery, a matter already dealt with in ch. 2, see n. 11.

<sup>248</sup> Again a chapter heading which has been constructed from the opening lines of what follows.

<sup>249</sup> Condemning these matters is a common theme in monastic *typika*: e.g. secret eating, see *BMFD*, vol. 5, General Index, p. 2016; private property, *ibid.*, p. 1981. It would appear that theft in itself would not necessarily result in expulsion from the monastery, but a lack of remorse or willingness to replace or restore that which had been stolen would result in exclusion.

**23. Concerning the fact that there should not be a fixed number of the brothers, but a sufficient number for the food; and that those in the monastery should be reverent and not undisciplined and disobedient.**

This also should be added to what has been said.<sup>250</sup> We do not wish there to be a fixed number of you, but you will be as many as will have enough food, and as many as surpass all the rest in reverence, love and concord and obey their *proestotes* 'in all patience'<sup>251</sup> and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly are to be preferred. The rest should be sent away, even if you have to be reduced to small numbers.<sup>252</sup> For 'one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors.'<sup>253</sup>

**24. Concerning the fact that the brothers are not allowed to have servants.**

It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good that there should be two of you in your cells united by the law of spiritual love, being of the same mind and really living together as brothers in harmony, bearing the same yoke of Our Lord wholeheartedly, being subservient to one another in peace, proper care and reverence so that you will have the opportunity to fulfil the word of David, 'See now! What is so good, or what so pleasant as for brothers to dwell together?'<sup>254</sup> But in this matter also, it is necessary to make specific distinctions, namely, that the novice should defer to the one who is more advanced, the more

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<sup>250</sup> This short sentence is one of the dividers in a version of the document which predates the division into chapters, see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161; 184; 222 and Introduction, C. 16. The chapter title is again a doubling of the material which follows.

<sup>251</sup> 2 Cor. 12:12.

<sup>252</sup> The fear here is that the produce of the monastery will not be enough to support its numbers, which might suggest that at the time of writing the Evergetis landed endowment was not large. This is supported by the use of the word '*proestotes*' which probably marks a passage composed by Paul, the first founder. The *typika* of other houses, however, did stipulate the number of monks, see *PhoberosRule*, ch. 42, pp. 923–4; *MamasTyp*, ch. 5, p. 1000; *ElegmoiTyp*, ch. 5, p. 1057; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 3, p. 800; *KecharitomenēTyp*, ch. 5, p. 671. Qualities of character and genuineness of vocation to be judged by the *hegoumenos* were clearly of greater importance than mere numbers. According to the Novel of Basil II (January 996, revised in the late eleventh century), the minimum number of monks which could constitute a monastery was set at 8–10, see E. McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Toronto, 2000), Doc. O, pp. 126 (version 1), 127 (version 2).

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Sirach 16:3 especially the text added to the margin of Codex Sinaiticus at this point.

<sup>254</sup> Ps. 132:1 [133:1].

unlearned to the more educated, the more uncouth to the more sophisticated, and the younger to the older. But if the *proestos* should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement.<sup>255</sup>

## **25. Concerning the fact that garments should be bought in advance and deposited in the storehouse.<sup>256</sup>**

We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them.<sup>257</sup> For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the Devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the *proestos*. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Unlike other, particularly imperial, monasteries, Evergetis is concerned with a lack of hierarchy, thus servants are not acceptable and an emphasis is laid on mutual support. At the same time a deference in spiritual matters is required from the less experienced towards longer-serving monks. Hence it is likely that a novice would be allocated to an older monk so that he might learn by example in the manner described in earlier texts of spiritual guidance such as the *Gerontika* to which Paul shows a distinct attachment in his *Synagoge* compilation. However, there were clearly dangers, particularly of a sexual nature associated with this arrangement; in *PhoberosRule*, ch. 43 we find a deliberate change to three in a cell, see p. 924. At the same time provision is made for suitable monks, perhaps the office holders, to live singly.

<sup>256</sup> It is not clear whether there was a separate storeroom for clothing apart from other items necessary for the monastery such as bowls, cutlery, cooking utensils, foodstuffs, agricultural and carpentry tools.

<sup>257</sup> Clothing was clearly manufactured outside the monastery and purchased and stored for later use.

<sup>258</sup> The text might seem to imply that old or worn out or damaged garments could be exchanged at any time, but the exhortation to frugality and the warning against the perils of surplus suggest that they were in fact retained for as long as practically possible unlike the monastery of Pakourianos where clothes were to be purchased by monks themselves once a year at Easter, see *PakourianosTyp*, ch. 9, pp. 534–5.



**26. Concerning the fact that everyone should use the same food and drink and clothing, apart from those who are clearly ill.**

In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our Lady herself, the Theotokos Evergetis, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same – I mean the *begoumenos*, the *oikonomos*, the *ekklesiarches*, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters.<sup>259</sup> For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offence.<sup>260</sup>

**27. Concerning the fact that the *begoumenos* should visit the cells of the brothers each month, and if he finds anything more than is necessary for them, he is to take it.**

The *begoumenos* must do this also, that is, he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need.<sup>261</sup>

**28. Concerning the fact that there should be a bath for the sick and it should be heated, but it should only be heated for the brothers who are healthy three times a year.**

You should live completely without bathing. For although we have built a bath in the monastery, yet it was not that you should live in an effeminate way, bathing and being in good physical condition, but that the sick could be comforted, if

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<sup>259</sup> Again equality is of prime importance for the writer, see ch. 24. In the text there is a mix of subject pronouns between ‘I’ and ‘We,’ which possibly indicates that the short parenthesis ‘I mean ... matters’ is an interpolation.

<sup>260</sup> Giving the sick more food is unlikely to have been a bone of contention for the remaining monks.

<sup>261</sup> Again a superfluous heading. It is not clear what is meant by extra items, but their confiscation is clearly in the interests of equality. The distribution ‘to those in need’ could refer to brethren within the monastery but is more likely to refer to charitable donations to the laity.

necessary.<sup>262</sup> However, we give permission for those who are healthy to have a bath three times during the year, at the feast of the Holy Nativity,<sup>263</sup> at Holy Easter,<sup>264</sup> and thirdly at the feast of the bodily *Metastasis* from this world of our most holy Lady the Theotokos;<sup>265</sup> but extra bathing, if necessary, should be permitted at the discretion of the *proestos*. So these instructions are enough for your virtue, but lest you wrangle about the other matters, I must deal with them also.<sup>266</sup>

## 29. Concerning the installation of officials, that it should take place in the manner of the installation of the *oikonomos*.

The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the installation of the *oikonomos*, that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or the Theotokos and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the *proestos*, and receive from him the blessing mentioned above.<sup>267</sup> However, for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the *sphragis* of the *hegoumenos* will be sufficient for the installation.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Since this passage uses the subject pronoun 'we' which can be associated with Paul, the bath, possibly a very simple structure, may have been built at an early stage. It was primarily a warm bath for the sick, heated by a hypocaust, see Rodley, 'Evergetis: Where it was and What it Looked Like', p. 24. Healthy monks were allowed to use it as part of the celebrations of three major feasts and also at the discretion of the *proestos*.

<sup>263</sup> 25 December.

<sup>264</sup> The date of this feast varied from year to year.

<sup>265</sup> 15 August.

<sup>266</sup> The final sentence of this chapter is another internal divider and marks the end of the section about daily life; on other dividers see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161; 184; 222; 250 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>267</sup> A reference back to ch. 13 where a ceremony to confirm the appointment of the *oikonomos* after the service of *Orthros* is outlined, though there is no mention of keys there. Again icons of Christ and the Theotokos play a part in the ceremony.

<sup>268</sup> Here some appointments do not involve the handing over of keys which indicate control over valuables or stores. Presumably the *hegoumenos* signed each of these minor officials with the sign of the cross to mark their appointment.

### 30. Concerning the fact that there should be a *skeuophylax* in the monastery and a *docheiarios* for money and a *docheiarios* for the linen.

It is fitting therefore that there should be three *docheiarioi*, of whom one should look after the sacred vessels and cloths and in short anything that is important, and he should be called the *skeuophylax*, the second should keep the money of the monastery, and the other one should distribute to the brothers necessities from the storehouse, I mean clothing and footwear and so forth, and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.<sup>269</sup>

### 31. Concerning the fact that there should be an *epistemonarches* and a *trapezarios*.

It is necessary that there should be an *epistemonarches* observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour advising and correcting in a brotherly way any who sit down together without good reason or chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.<sup>270</sup>

Furthermore there should also be a *trapezarios*, attending to whatever the *kellarites* supplies him with, and going round the *trapeza* at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the *trapeza* and note which of them was absent during grace and which during the meal and report these to the *proestos*. For if he does not do this, he will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>269</sup> For the *skeuophylakion*, or sacristy, see also ch. 19. The *docheiarios* for the cash of the monastery is also mentioned in ch. 20; the distributions by the *docheiarios* of clothing and footwear are mentioned in ch. 25, though the official himself is not. This official was also charged with the responsibility of looking after visiting monks who joined the common table. For monastic officers see Introduction, B. 5.

<sup>270</sup> See also chs 4, p. 154 and n. 41; 9, p. 169 and n. 112.

<sup>271</sup> For the *trapezarios* see also ch. 9, pp. 165–6 and n. 95. The *kellarites* was clearly in charge of supplies of food and drink. Psalm 50 is chanted daily as an introduction to the canon(s) at *Orthros* and begins ‘Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy’.

**32. Concerning the fact that those who carry out their offices devoutly and with care should be left unchanged, but those who perform them in a deceitful and careless manner should be removed and others appointed, and the founder's curse rests on those who appropriate anything as a result of their offices.**

Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to Our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure Mother and everyone's benefactress, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.<sup>272</sup>

**33. An exhortation to all those with offices both inside and outside the monastery.**

So I entreat the *kellaritai*, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies,<sup>273</sup> those acting as *oikonomoi* in the monastery's properties, those sent to the City, those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the *proestotes*, and in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them.<sup>274</sup> As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be sufficient totally as

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Significant visitors, such as potential donors, might be placed in positions of honour at table, see n. 97.

<sup>272</sup> The title of this chapter is one of the clearest proofs that the headings were a later insertion as it only partially matches what follows in the text. It both refers to an earlier founder, whose identity is not later clarified, and also suggests that the details of his curse will follow. In fact, the text simply refers to the fact that any miscreant official will ultimately be judged by Christ and the Virgin.

<sup>273</sup> The Greek word used is *metocheiarioi*, derived from the word *metochion* meaning a dependent house. Since properties are also mentioned, this part of the text is more likely, therefore, to date from the period of Timothy's hegoumenate or even later.

<sup>274</sup> The concern here is for the good behaviour of those performing specific tasks and duties within and outside the monastery, especially since this could involve living some distance from the monastery on one of its estates, or in one of its *metochia*, or travelling on business to 'the City' (Constantinople). For late references to a *metochion* of Evergetis situated in the SW of Constantinople see Introduction, A. 2.

their defence before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the *synaxeis* not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, 'I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many.'<sup>275</sup>

You see, my brothers, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the *synaxis*?<sup>276</sup> Do you not think that 'you are laying down your lives' for many,<sup>277</sup> like my Master, Christ, so that of course you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer.<sup>278</sup> You are blessed in that occupation and are to be envied.

For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays the humility that exalts,<sup>279</sup> mercy and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like 'the Heavenly Father.'<sup>280</sup> So why do you give up the treasure-house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? 'We are afraid,' they say, 'because of our failure to carry out the rule';<sup>281</sup> but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to you failure in this, justly granting you pardon.<sup>282</sup> Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your

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<sup>275</sup> Mat. 20:28, with slight modification.

<sup>276</sup> A *synaxis* is any gathering for worship.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Jn. 10:11.

<sup>278</sup> The spiritual value of manual work or administration conscientiously undertaken on behalf of the community is emphasised as being at least on a par with participation in the daily liturgical round. This would have been of some comfort to those who feared that missing services would be harmful to their spiritual development.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Mat. 23:12.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Mat. 5:48.

<sup>281</sup> A general term for the round of liturgical offices; see ch. 36 below.

<sup>282</sup> See ch. 7 above.

guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your offices eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well. But I will add to my discourse that matter which has almost slipped by me.

### **34. Concerning the sort of people that should be sent out as superintendents in the properties.**

Since then as a consequence of our weakness we have gained possession of some small pieces of immovable property, the *proestos* must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is, they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial.<sup>283</sup> Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died.<sup>284</sup>

### **35. Concerning the holy remembrance of our holy father *kyr* Paul, the first founder.**

It is fitting that you should celebrate with a feast the remembrance of our thrice-blessed and glorious father and founder *kyr* Paul in a splendid manner and with the chanting of psalms all night; this falls on the sixteenth of April. When, as often, it occurs within Great Week and on the paschal days of Renewal Week, the celebration will always take place on a non-feast day during the week after Renewal Week. But if it should fall on an ordinary day outside these days, then it will of course be celebrated without delay on that very day on which it falls, unless it is a Sunday.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> One of the names of Satan; cf. 2 Cor. 6:15.

<sup>284</sup> Although monastic sensibilities might have caused a later writer of this passage to belittle the extent of the monastery's property, the use of the term *proestos* which we associate with Paul, the first founder, (see Introduction, C. 17) would suggest that this does indeed reflect an early stage in the monastery's development. At this point the text moves on to the fresh topic of commemorations.

<sup>285</sup> See also *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16 for details of the services of commemoration. Paul was commemorated on the anniversary of his death, unless it fell during certain important festivals as is indicated here. Great Week runs from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday; Renewal Week is the week from Easter Sunday. If his commemoration were to fall in Lent and on a fast

**36. Concerning the commemorations for the fathers and brothers who have died and for those who have done something worthy of remembrance for the monastery and concerning the distribution on their behalf in the gateway.**

Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should be remembered by us, and equally for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs.<sup>286</sup> In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered every day during every *synaxis*, and I mean during *Orthros* and the Liturgy and *Hesperinon*, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf.<sup>287</sup> In addition to this the *ekklesiarches* must note down the commemorations of each of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail.<sup>288</sup>

Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical: for as the number of brothers dying increases,<sup>289</sup> it is possible that sometimes commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and those who are going to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the services of *Pannychis* are forced always to leave out the canons prescribed for the services of *Pannychis*, which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased.<sup>290</sup> So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of

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day, (only ever Monday to Friday) it was celebrated on a Saturday. This paragraph must have been written by Timothy, the second founder; he himself is not mentioned even though he is said to have died on the same day as Paul and his commemorations were incorporated into those of Paul in the *Synaxarion*, though rather carelessly. This joint commemoration is also referred to in the appendix after ch. 43 below.

<sup>286</sup> Diptychs were commemorative lists of the living and the dead proclaimed by the deacon during the Divine Liturgy. Liturgical diptychs could commemorate representatives of the local church or hierarchs of churches in communion or, as in this case, members of the same community and their lay patrons and donors who might specifically request inclusion in lists of commemoration; see *ODB*, vol. I, pp. 637–8.

<sup>287</sup> That is, the Liturgy of the day is offered in his memory. For funerals, see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 808–9.

<sup>288</sup> The *ekklesiarches* in charge of the community's worship would need to know in advance the days upon which commemorations would fall in order to plan the services.

<sup>289</sup> This suggests that the monastic complement had become sizeable at the time of writing and that the incidence of death would now increase.

<sup>290</sup> See also ch. 6 above. The service of *Pannychis* on Friday evening (technically just after the beginning of the Byzantine Saturday) was regularly celebrated in memory of the departed; on certain days there were special commemoration services for the dead, see



the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the *Pannychis* of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think, to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness, that I may not mention laziness, you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for all of the people at the same time during one *Pannychis*, unless there is a commemoration for one of your former *hegoumenoi*. For his commemoration must be carried out on its own, since he will be rendering account on behalf of you all.<sup>291</sup> In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon.<sup>292</sup> So in both the services of *Pannychis* and in the Liturgies on their behalf this is fine, that commemorations should take place for them all at the same time during one service as long as offerings are made for each one.

Since a priest specifically to look after burials<sup>293</sup> has been established, let him act as he wishes or rather as he is able. As regards the distributions in the gateway on behalf of certain people, for example let me say Promotenos, Kataphloron, and in short everyone at all who has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, and people who have agreed or will agree that something be distributed for their commemoration, as has been said, we urge that these be carried out generously.<sup>294</sup>

However, as regards the diptychs we command in the Lord both the priests themselves and the deacons to consult them at every Liturgy in order to commemorate those who are listed on them, so that they themselves may not

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*EvSynax*, vol. 2, p.49 for example. The writer is here worried that the celebrations of the saint of the day would be eclipsed by services of commemoration for the dead.

<sup>291</sup> Two solutions are suggested: (1) that parallel services be held, for the saint of the day in the church and the commemoration of the dead at the tombs; or (2) that commemorations for the dead which fall in the same week should be observed together, saving that for any *hegoumenos* who must be commemorated on his own.

<sup>292</sup> For the canon or rule see n. 281.

<sup>293</sup> The term used here is *leitourgos ton taphon* whereas in *EvSynax*, vol. 2, at IV.16 he is called the *taphiotes*. Frequent mention is made in that document of the tombs and the *koimeterion*, a mortuary chapel with tombs, possibly underneath the Church of the Theotokos Evergetis, see *EvSynax*, vol. 3, General Index, pp. 212 (*s.v.* cemetery), 221 (*s.v.* *taphiotes, tombs*) and Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>294</sup> For the families of Kataphloron and Promotenos (Proumoundenos etc.) see Appendix 5. Both these individuals, whose Christian names are unknown, are examples of laymen who have left or given money or property to the monastery and are therefore to be commemorated by charitable distributions. For the distributions at the gateway see also ch. 11, pp. 174–5, n. 148 and ch. 38, p. 205.

bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them. Enough has now been said also about these matters.<sup>295</sup>

### 37. Concerning those who are tonsured.

It is necessary to speak also about those who are tonsured.<sup>296</sup> If they are distinguished people or of people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life, they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here, they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic head-dress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for six whole months, then they should be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the *proestos* whether they should be accepted or not. Furthermore he should consider carefully the monks who come from a different monastery.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>295</sup> In this last short section the writer returns to the subject of diptychs reminding the priests and deacons that they must intone the names inscribed on them at the relevant services. The two previous paragraphs have the superficial look of later insertions into the text: the first indicated by the phrase 'Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical...'; the second concerning the specific examples of Promotenos and Kataphloron. However, in the first paragraph we have a verb with the 'we' ending – 'we command' – and later two third person singular imperatives closely followed by a gerund. These linguistic features point to an earlier *typon* document; on this, see Introduction, C. 17. Similar linguistic features also appear at the beginning ('let him act') and at the end ('we urge') of the following paragraph. It is far more likely that the two previous paragraphs are the result of Timothy's adaptation, and probable expansion, of Paul's earlier document. The final sentence of this paragraph, which we should assume to have come originally from Paul's *typon*, is another of the original internal dividers, see also nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161; 184; 222; 250; 266 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>296</sup> This short sentence, probably from an early version of the document, acts as a heading of a chapter dealing with novices. On the tonsure see n. 16. For a discussion on the length of the noviciate and references to individual monasteries, see *BMFD*, vol. 5, p. 1968 and *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1499.

<sup>297</sup> There are three issues in this paragraph: (1) the accelerated entry for postulants of known background and social standing and possibly frequent visitors; (2) the longer and more demanding process required of those who were not known to either the monks or the *hegoumenos*; and (3) the treatment of monks who come to Evergetis from other houses.

Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning an *apotage* and a *prosenexis*. For one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money,<sup>298</sup> lest anyone causes shame thereby and inflicts a reproach on those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, 'mine and yours' and 'greater and smaller', and that the one who has made a *prosenexis* is thought to be more important than the one who has not. May it not happen, may that not happen among us ever! But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted. For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his all-pure mother the Evergetis. For an *apotage* and a *prosenexis* are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.<sup>299</sup>

Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as everyone and according to the rule of the monastery then in force. If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons – there are many such examples of fickleness – and tries to leave the monastery and would like to take his offering away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it. That deals with that matter.<sup>300</sup>

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Frequently monks tonsured elsewhere were not admitted; on this see *BMFD*, vol. 5, p. 2021. Novices who were accepted received the Lesser Habit to begin with; they were tonsured and received the Great Habit after the period of probation which was set at six months in Evergetis.

<sup>298</sup> An allusion to the sin of simony; see Acts 8:9–24.

<sup>299</sup> The writer is at pains in this detailed and precise explanation to distinguish between a spiritually beneficial voluntary offering and an improperly demanded payment, see Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 192–7.

<sup>300</sup> This paragraph reiterates the theme of equality of life within the Evergetis community; see ch. 26 above. Attempting to recover an entry offering, in effect a gift to Christ and the Theotokos, is seen as being just as sacrilegious as illicitly disposing of the monastery's valuables; see ch. 19, p. 189 and n. 229 above. The final sentence is another one

### 38. Concerning the daily distribution in the gateway and the reception of strangers and sick people in the *xenodocheion*.<sup>301</sup>

You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this?<sup>302</sup> It is the distribution in the gateway and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick for whom we built the *xenodocheion*, begging the site from some devout Christian on the understanding that we would guarantee to comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care we could to those among them that are sick and confined to bed, to clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves – for we do not permit that – but by the *proestos*, to feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with the bread and wine already specified and some legumes, those that are excess to your needs – for these should have come from your lack, but since this is not possible, let them come from your excess, for what a person can do is dear to God – and to bury those who die in the strangers' burial-place built for them, lest gaining the less important things from you they should unwittingly be neglected in something greater and more important, and not to bury them simply nor in any haphazard fashion, but first the burial chants are to be chanted by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf.<sup>303</sup>

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of the original dividers, see nn. 1; 22; 47; 71; 82; 99; 108; 149; 161; 184; 222; 250; 266; 295 and Introduction, C. 16.

<sup>301</sup> The *xenodocheion*, or strangers' hostel, was built on donated land, outside the monastery but presumably not too far away as members of the community had to care for those inside it. The identity of the donor is unknown, as is the time at which the hostel was built.

<sup>302</sup> This chapter begins a section mainly concerned with the charitable activity of the monastery, but a section which has been interpolated with a series of chapters containing generalised exhortations about keeping the regulations of the *typikon* (chs 40; 42; 43).

<sup>303</sup> 'Stranger brothers' here refers to the poor designated by Christ Himself as his 'brothers', see Mat. 25:40 and cf. Mat. 25:42–3; Mat. 19:21; Mk. 10:21; Lk. 18:22. See D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1968), p. 13 and Jordan, 'Greek Monastic Charity'. They are to be both clothed and fed and to be buried in a place specifically set aside for strangers, probably alongside the *xenodocheion*. Although there is an earlier discussion about the handing in of old monastic clothing, see ch. 25, there has not, contrary to what the text maintains, been any *previous* information given about doles of food other than that made on the special occasion of the feast of the *Koimesis* of the Theotokos (see ch. 11, pp. 174–5 and n. 148). Possibly, therefore, some part of the earlier text has been lost. On monastic food distributions see M. Dembinska, 'Diet:

For we do not wish anyone to return from the gateway empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, 'not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not,'<sup>304</sup> but we fear harm from that quarter, in case, if a habit was generally accepted, they would visit the gateway more frequently and would be found to be the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If, however, there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the *Koimesis* of our most-holy Lady the Theotokos and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause us any harm.<sup>305</sup>

### **39. Concerning the fact that the monastery is not to be entered by women except eminent and noble ones.**

We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore as many as are well-known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in, but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able both to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.<sup>306</sup>

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A Comparison of Food Consumption between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th centuries,' *Byzantion*, 55 (1985), 431–62. The poor are also to be given proper ceremonial burial.

<sup>304</sup> Ps. Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 3, PG, 31, col. 1345C.

<sup>305</sup> For a general ban, with some exceptions, on the presence of women within the monastery see ch. 39 below. This is extended to the external surroundings and particularly the gateway except for special occasions, such as the major feast of the *Koimesis*, specified here, and perhaps that of the Annunciation, together with the commemorations for the founders and benefactors of the monastery. See ch. 11, p. 174 for the Feast of the *Koimesis* and ch. 36, p. 202 for distributions at the gateway in remembrance of benefactors.

<sup>306</sup> It is very difficult even to speculate about the identity of the women who might be allowed on occasion to enter the monastery, but it seems likely that they might include members of the imperial house and relatives of the office holders in the monastery as well as actual or potential patrons and donors. See for example E. Sargologos, *La vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (†1110)* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 39, Brussels, 1964) ch. 17, pp. 91–4 (314–17) for the case of the Empress Anna Dalassene visiting St Cyril in his monastery. On regulations barring the opposite sex and the rationale for them see also *PhoberosRule*, ch. 55, pp. 936–7; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, chs 56, p. 824; 84, p. 836; *MachairasRule*, chs 115, p. 1155; 119 p. 1156; *MamasTyp*, ch. 27, p. 1013; *ElegmoiTyp*, ch. 27, p. 1070; *KecharitomeneTyp*, ch. 17, pp. 679–80; *MenoikeionTyp*, ch. 14, p. 1601.

Regarding other offices, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands and if there is urgent need; for then they [the offices] will be beneficial and be connected to the maintenance of the monastery.<sup>307</sup>

**40. An exhortation from the founder to everyone, namely the *begoumenos*, the *oikonomos* and the brothers, to keep unbroken all the regulations in this his *typikon*.**

I beseech you all, my brothers and beloved children in the Lord, to keep unbroken and unchanged my wishes couched in all the regulations set down for you above by me your sinful father, and my desire, advice and instruction which is for your benefit and the salvation of your souls, the safety and comfort of all, and, to mention it, an adornment and cause for boasting for my soul in the presence of the Lord.<sup>308</sup> For it is for this reason that we set out clearly and openly and were careful in this *typikon* to remove also every source of scandal as far as is possible for us, lest after our death Satan, the enemy of our souls, might find a chance, which I pray does not happen, O my Mistress and Lady Evergetis worthy of all praise, to dislodge you from the correct attitude and set up his own siege engine and overthrow what has been well established with much sweat and toil and with God's help and built up into this beauty which is now visible.

For, after so much steadfastness and as close a conformity as is possible on our part, I know that one day a source of evil will arise to bring evil and pretexts and suggestions for crooked and perverse dealings on the part of the wicked and perverse wild beast,<sup>309</sup> but you, almost all of you, being illuminated by the grace of Christ and from the constant reading of the divine scriptures and the

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<sup>307</sup> This paragraph seems to belong with the earlier material concerning the appointment of monastic offices which ends in ch. 34. There is some evidence in the *Synaxarion* that copies of other monastic *typika*, such as those from the monasteries on Mt Olympos in Bithynia, were available to the monks of the Evergetis, see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, III.25 N.8. Here the writer simply alludes to the customs of other monasteries. He might be referring, for example, to the office of *bibliophylax*, certainly required at Evergetis, since we know that manuscripts were produced there from the middle of the eleventh century, see Introduction, B. 10: Manuscript and Book Production: An Evergetis Scriptorium.

<sup>308</sup> There is an echo here of Phil. 2:16. The tone of this section recalls that of the passage in ch. 3 where Timothy describes the changes that he has brought about since the death of Paul.

<sup>309</sup> That is, the Devil.

*katecheseis*<sup>310</sup> being well aware of his craftiness and how you ought to repel it, as a result of experience itself and the things by which you yourselves have been tested and proved, resist evil firmly, having the great and unbreakable assistance of God through the fervent intercessions of our most pure and holy Mistress and Lady the Theotokos and through the prayers of our holy father of blessed memory<sup>311</sup> and, I will add, the prayer of my sinful self.

The one who does not know his obligation should be taught and instructed in a brotherly way by the one who has a good knowledge of this, and again he who is uneducated and lacking in understanding should be rebuked by the person with more understanding and thus you, being supported the one by the other in the Holy Spirit and love,<sup>312</sup> united as if in a military company and taught what is good and spiritual and brings salvation, as has been explained, I know well and have confidence in Christ our True God<sup>313</sup> and his most holy mother and Theotokos, our protectress and defender, that you will always be kept free from harm. The Enemy thus finding you armed and fortified will be put to shame and convicted of gaping in vain and to no purpose, and unsuccessful will be cast away far from you. But you will be kept safe, and be glorified, and will live in peace, and then for your beneficence and devout way of life you will become the envy of all throughout all the days of your life. When I have mentioned one more matter, I will finish my discourse.<sup>314</sup>

#### 41. Concerning the infirmary and the sick.

Seeing that I have already spoken a few things before<sup>315</sup> about our sick brothers, assigning all their care to the discretion of the *proestos*, I must discuss them at greater length. Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and eight beds for their rest and comfort, and two orderlies to minister to them in every way, and a large stove on which their food should be cooked and the other things for their comfort should be heated, and their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with regard to food and drink and other necessities.

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<sup>310</sup> The reference here is to the *katecheseis* of Paul. See n. 30 above and Crostini Lappin (ed.), *Selected Texts from the Evergetis*.

<sup>311</sup> The 'holy father' referred to here is Paul, whose *katecheseis* have just been mentioned.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Rom. 9:1; Eph. 4:16.

<sup>313</sup> Cf. I Jn. 5:20.

<sup>314</sup> This passage of exhortation (the whole of ch. 40, except for the last sentence) is an insertion, probably made after Timothy, see Introduction, C. 14.

<sup>315</sup> Earlier references to care of the sick can be found in chs 10 and 28.



The doctor, if there is one, should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers every day and in a wholehearted manner and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen or eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.

#### 42. A further exhortation from the founder.

So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to God and the Evergetis, and they are greatly beneficial for your help; and in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the *synaxeis* the canonical procedure handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honour which is due to your *proestotes*, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labour with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and ‘to complete what is lacking’<sup>316</sup> in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway *synaxeis*, to refrain from claiming the seat of honour and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of the soul, furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money and the love of power, and the filching and secret acquisition of the monastery’s possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the *proestos* has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

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<sup>316</sup> Col. 1:24, with slight modification.

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for not one thing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were thought of as such, perhaps by some of those who are weaker, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we can to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; for 'the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force.'<sup>317</sup> No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labours of battles. 'Through many tribulations,' the Lord says, 'we must enter the kingdom'<sup>318</sup> of heaven. So then I beseech you all to lead a life 'worthy of your calling',<sup>319</sup> present your bodies holy to the Lord,<sup>320</sup> 'love one another',<sup>321</sup> 'run' well 'the race that is set before you.'<sup>322</sup> Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, 'consider these things.'<sup>323</sup> Do not fail to do the things 'you have heard and learned'.<sup>324</sup> 'My brothers, the appointed time has grown very short.'<sup>325</sup> Remember your souls and our insignificance, do not forget us in your prayers.

#### 43. Concerning the reading of the *typikon* at the beginning of each month.

I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your meal-times, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls.<sup>326</sup> For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation,

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<sup>317</sup> Mat. 11:12, with slight modification; quoted from Basil's *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, PG, 31, col. 645 D.

<sup>318</sup> Acts 14:22.

<sup>319</sup> Eph. 4:1, with slight modification.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. Rom. 12:1.

<sup>321</sup> Jn. 15:12.

<sup>322</sup> Heb. 12:1, with some modification.

<sup>323</sup> Phil. 4:8.

<sup>324</sup> Cf. Phil. 4:9.

<sup>325</sup> I Cor. 7:29.

<sup>326</sup> This practice also occurs as expected in *PhoberosRule*, ch. 59, p. 946; *KecharitomeneTyp*, ch. 65, p. 698; *KosmosoteiraTyp*, ch. 59, p. 825; *MamasTyp*, ch. 16,

if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction. ‘The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory’<sup>327</sup> through his great and ineffable goodness confirm and strengthen you<sup>328</sup> in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord God<sup>329</sup> and Saviour Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honour, worship and majesty now and always and for ever and ever. Amen. Glory to Thee, Our God, glory to Thee.<sup>330</sup>

Since then the Lord,<sup>331</sup> who always ‘fulfils the desire of those who fear him’<sup>332</sup> by his ineffable decrees, brought it about that the commemoration for our most holy father and first founder *kyr* Paul should coincide with the death of our sanctified father and second founder *kyr* Timothy, who passed away on that very same day that the former went to the Lord, we thought that the commemorations for both of them ought to be carried out jointly on one and the same day, as indeed the latter of them told and commanded us while he was still alive, and that is the sixteenth of April. The *Synaxarion* makes clear how it must be celebrated.<sup>333</sup> Therefore we instruct ‘in the Holy Spirit’<sup>334</sup> all who come after us never to separate their annual commemoration for any reason or circumstance whatever, but always to celebrate it jointly in the way that has been prescribed and handed down by us, for as long as this world exists.

In connection with this you must know and observe this also, that our holy father of blessed memory, the monk *kyr* Timothy, with the other things which he compiled in the present *typikon* also gave this instruction, that we are not to use wine at all during the first week of the great and holy fast until the

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p. 1005; *ElegmoiTyp*, ch. 16, p. 1062; *MachairasRule*, ch. 167, p. 1165; *MenoikeionTyp*, ch. 9, p. 1599 and also, for example, in *AthanasiosRule*, ch. 37, p. 228; *AttaleiatesRule*, ch. 40, p. 353; *AuxentiosTyp*, ch. 13, p. 1229; *LipsTyp*, ch. 8, p. 1268.

<sup>327</sup> Heb. 13:20; I Pet. 5:10, with a slight modification.

<sup>328</sup> Cf. Heb. 13:21; cf. also I Pet. 5:10.

<sup>329</sup> This word is omitted from the *BMFD* translation, but see the repeat of this section in the appendix below.

<sup>330</sup> None of the *typika* which borrow material from the *Hypotyposis* shows any borrowing after this point.

<sup>331</sup> This later material, which Gautier suggested (see ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 92, n. 75) might date to the first 20 years of the twelfth century, was certainly added after the death of Timothy and is written in the same hand as that of the *Typikon* proper in Cod. Athen. graec. 788 (see Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 90, n. 68). For detailed discussion of this manuscript, see Introduction, C. 12: Codex Atheniensis graecus 788.

<sup>332</sup> Ps. 144:19 [145:19], with a slight modification.

<sup>333</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, IV.16.

<sup>334</sup> Rom. 9:1.

*Paramone* of the holy and great martyr Theodore and to do the same on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of the same holy fast.<sup>335</sup> But since the sick were suffering from the hot drink flavoured with cumin, or to put it more clearly, even those who were well were falling sick from it, when the *pansebastos sebastos* and *meas doux*, the monk *kyr* Anthony,<sup>336</sup> noticed this, feeling pity for the brothers because of the standing throughout the night and the prolonged chanting and sleeplessness and furthermore the harm that came to them from the cumin-flavoured drink,<sup>337</sup> he begged us most fervently<sup>338</sup> with a contrite heart<sup>339</sup> that the brothers should receive some wine from the Wednesday of the First Week and thereafter, I mean on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>340</sup>

Therefore not wishing to grieve the aforementioned man beloved of God, we yielded to his entreaty both out of reverence for his virtue and out of pious regard for his action, and on account of the fact that this man made many other contributions to the monastery and constructed a vineyard at his own expense outside and yet near to the monastery for this purpose that the brothers could drink wine during the holy great fast,<sup>341</sup> furthermore, because he granted us an *exkousseia* for twelve of our *zeugaratoi paroikoi*<sup>342</sup> on our property situated in

<sup>335</sup> See above ch. 10, p. 170 and n. 119 on the feast of the martyr St Theodore; see also Timothy's own regulations as recorded in *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.2.

<sup>336</sup> See Appendix 4 on the identity of the monk Anthony, almost certainly John Doukas, brother of the Empress Irene Doukaina, the wife of Alexios I Komnenos.

<sup>337</sup> See n. 117.

<sup>338</sup> The 'us' referred to must have been a successor in the hegoumenate to Timothy. We only know of one of his immediate successors: in 1103 the *hegoumenos* was one Athanasios, see Introduction, A. 2, pp. 9–10.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Ps. 50:19 [51:17].

<sup>340</sup> See n. 117.

<sup>341</sup> Anthony was clearly a major benefactor to the monastery and thus his wishes were taken very seriously. If he had created the vineyard for the monks' sole use and 'made many other offerings' before entering the monastery himself, this would certainly have qualified him for the epithet of *philomonachos*, see Appendix 4.

<sup>342</sup> For the *exkousseia*, an exemption from taxes, dues or services, see N. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)* (Athens, 1996) and R. Morris, 'Monastic Exemptions in Tenth- and Eleventh-century Byzantium', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), 200–20. A *zeugaratos paroikos* (dependent peasant) was deemed to hold land of an extent known as a *zeugarion*, that is, the quantity of land that could be cultivated by a pair of oxen. The precise measurement of this land varied from place to place, probably taking into account the quality of the land, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1589–90; 2224–5. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption*, p. 285, noting that exemptions, though sometimes the work of provincial officials, in fact always derived from an imperial instruction, suggests that by 'granted to us an *exkousseia*' should be understood

Boleron and called the property of Theophanes, and similarly for sixteen other *zeugaratoi paroikoi* on our property situated in Chortokopion and called the property of Epiphaneios.<sup>343</sup> For this reason we instruct you to partake of the wine gratefully and to pray unceasingly for the aforementioned man beloved of God, and not to consider yourselves guilty since most people, showing extreme *askesis*, abstain even from water; and we order that none of those after us henceforth has the power for whatever reason to curtail this benefit which takes place in memory of the aforementioned person and for the comfort of the whole brotherhood.

‘The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory’<sup>344</sup> through his great and ineffable goodness confirm and strengthen you<sup>345</sup> in his holy will through his only-begotten Son, Our Lord God<sup>346</sup> and Saviour Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honour, worship and majesty both now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.<sup>347</sup>

Pleasant is the harbour to those who sail and the end of the book again to those who write, for both bring [them] rest from [their] labours.<sup>348</sup>

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either the transfer of a privilege previously granted to Anthony himself, when in the world, or the intervention with the emperor by Anthony to acquire an *exkousseia* for the monks for *paroikoi* on existing monastic property. A third possibility, that Anthony had granted the *exkousseia* himself Oikonomidès felt was unlikely. The monastery clearly possessed more than 12 such *paroikoi* on its property of Theophanes.

<sup>343</sup> The administrative district (theme) of Boleron was situated in Thrace between the Rhodope mountains and the sea; see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 304. The location of the ‘property of Theophanes’ is unknown. Gautier, ‘Théotokos Evergétis’, p. 92, n. 74, suggested that the place name Chortokopion might be connected with that of Chortokopolis to the east of Apros (near mod. Kermeyan) also in Thrace. Külzer, *Ostthrakien*, p. 316 locates a Chortokopeion to the east of Rhaidestos (mod. Tekirdağ) in the same region. Mention of these properties indicates that the landed estate of Evergetis included holdings well to the west of the house itself. It is possible that these properties had in fact been given to the monastery by Anthony himself. A detailed list of the lands, liturgical vessels, books and other treasures was undoubtedly to be found in the *brebion* now lost; for an example of such a document see *PakourianosTyp*, ch. 2, pp. 524–7.

<sup>344</sup> Heb. 13:20; I Pet. 5:10, with slight modification.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. Heb. 13:21; I Pet. 5:10.

<sup>346</sup> See n. 329.

<sup>347</sup> This paragraph, which marks a second ending, is clearly copied from the first ending which appears at the end of ch. 43.

<sup>348</sup> Three lines of iambic poetry on the pleasure that writers, or in this case, copyists, gain from reaching the end of their labours. Such sentiments can be found in other manuscripts; see K. Treu, ‘Der Schreiber am Teil’.

This book of the *typikon* was dedicated to the divine and imperial church honoured with the name of my all-holy Petritziotisa<sup>349</sup> by *kyr* Nikephoros in memory of his parents, and of Constantine, Helen and Nikephoros;<sup>350</sup> and anyone who removes this from the monastery will be liable to the anathema of the three hundred and eighteen inspired fathers who gathered at Nicaea.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> The dedication of this church to the 'Petritziotisa' may well refer to the monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotissa (or Petritzonitissa) founded by Gregory Pakourianos at Petritzos (Bačkovo) in the late eleventh century and still in existence in southern Bulgaria, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1644 and *Pakourianos Typ.*

<sup>350</sup> This colophon, in a different hand, dated by Gautier to the sixteenth century (see Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', p. 94 and n. 77) mentions an unknown Lord Nikephoros, the donor of Cod. Athen. graec. 788 or this part of it. In return perhaps, prayers were to be said for his unnamed parents and the three other individuals who may also have been related to him.

<sup>351</sup> For the traditional number of Fathers present at the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 see M. Aubineau, 'Les 318 serviteurs d'Abraham et le nombre des Pères au concile de Nicée (325)', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 61 (1966), 5–43. For the common usage of the curse of the 318 Fathers in the penal clauses of Byzantine documents see Morris, 'Curses and Clauses', pp. 315–18.

# Appendices



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## Appendix 1

# The *Typikon* of Paul Evergetinos: A Reconstruction

This reconstruction of the *Typikon* of Paul is based on the linguistic analysis discussed earlier in the Introduction, in section C. 17: A Pauline *Hypotyposis*? Of necessity some of the attribution is somewhat speculative, but it is hoped that this does not detract from what is attributed here to Paul as a whole. In particular the following points should be noted:

- (a) the late additions which come after line 1324 in Gautier's *Hypotyposis* text have been omitted;
- (b) all chapter titles have been omitted;
- (c) all later insertions in the body of Timothy's text have been omitted;
- (d) the paragraphing reflects the earlier internal structure buried in the text;
- (e) in order to help readers compare this *Typikon* to the full *Hypotyposis* translation, the chapter numbers found in the latter have been inserted here in square brackets.

### Paul's *Typikon*

[3] ... it is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the *brebion*. But keeping to our purpose we must turn in our discourse to the canonical procedure. But O God and Lord of all, O ever-praised Mother of Our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, I pray these instructions may be effective and productive for both us and those after us until the end of the present age ... So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light ...

[4] So then after the worship of *Orthros*, the First Hour should be chanted by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited: 'Thou who at all times and all hours' and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be

performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor, but the weak should have some low supports. Three of these should be completed in a more leisurely manner in as much as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out 'God, be merciful to me the sinner,' then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say three times in the same way 'I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me.' But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and at each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the *ekklesiarches* or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements. That should take place when 'God is the Lord' is not chanted during *Orthros*; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised: 'Oh eternal God, everlasting Light without beginning, the Maker of all creation.' Immediately after the prayer the short *katechesis* from the words of the Fathers should take place, read by the *proestos* ... and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *Synaxarion*. At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* which is prescribed for us should take place and to it the following prayer should be joined: 'Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds.' That is to take place when the *katechesis* is read as has been made clear; otherwise the *trisagion* should be omitted and the prayer recited to follow the other prayer before the *katechesis*. All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following: 'Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord,' and 'The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice' and 'In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarrelling.' When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken his customary one also, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the *proestos* asking for your prayers like this: 'Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,' you should answer, 'May God save you, honoured father; and you, pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.' Then again ... he should pray for you and say, 'May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.' Then you should stand up and depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter and disorderly laughter ... Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections in the manner mentioned above ... For genuflections should not be carried out

in the church only when 'God is the Lord' is chanted, as we have said. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down, but we will avoid this in our cells whenever there is an *Agrypnia* because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christ's Nativity, during Renewal Week, and further, during the nine days after the feast for the Dormition of our most holy Lady, the Theotokos Evergetis. So the ritual of the Third, Sixth and First Hours should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.

[5] It is necessary now to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our Orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean<sup>1</sup> the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure and sown by the Devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the *proestos* to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him,' and again, 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you,' and as the divine apostle says, 'He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit' and as the most gentle David says conversely, 'They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish.' Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for 'Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood' says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and chief of the apostles. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and like things, should partake of communion three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the *proestos* of course,

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<sup>1</sup> This use of 'I' is merely an aside.

for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However, it is permitted that those who should partake of communion chant the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

[6] The Ninth Hour should be chanted in the same way as the preceding Hours, with the striking of the *semantron* calling you to it as is usual. The regulation in the *Synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of *Hesperinon* should be carried out, with *Pannychis* immediately next, as well as *Apodeipnon* after the supper. During these you should genuflect whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a day that includes 'God is the Lord' at *Orthros*. When *Apodeipnon* has been chanted and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the First Hour and incline your ear well to the *proestos* as he says, 'Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed and in thought,' and you should grant him forgiveness, saying, 'May God forgive you, father.' But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, 'Forgive us also yourself, honoured father, for we have sinned in deed, word and in thought,' then again he should pray for you and say, 'May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.' Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the *proestos*, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a rhythmic fashion, 'Bless, O saints.' Then when he has struck the *semantron* in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the *Mesonyktikon* office, which he himself will also chant all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great *semantron* and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship, the preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows. For after the striking of the bronze *semantron* praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once with the censer make the sign of the venerable cross in front of the holy table; and you replying 'Amen' should immediately chant a *trisagion* together with the nineteenth and twentieth psalms and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being chanted. The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once

more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, 'Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever, amen.' After replying 'Amen' the *ekklesiarches* should at once begin the *hexapsalmos*, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the *hexapsalmos*, the whole office of *Orthros* should next be celebrated as the *Synaxarion* describes. That constitutes the pattern of your daily office.

[7] We must also speak to you about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the table must wait for a while. Well then, the *proestos* must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each the appropriate healing. We specify that after the reciting of the psalms at *Orthros* has begun there should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after *Apodeipnon* he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside who are present. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorise whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the *proestos* by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them. So then you, my brothers, seeing the *proestos* hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbour that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says 'Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood.' So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope, namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make

confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, 'Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart.' ... Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would have been necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he might come to his senses held us back from such a purpose ... So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows: 'If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his *proestos* all the secrets of his heart stripped bare.' So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will possess later on something that is more sure; for the author of *The Ladder* says 'Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,' and again, 'A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.' So the revelation of one's own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it. Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the *proestos* himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts; but the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the *proestos* alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one. These things should be so.

[8] Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts the *Synaxarion* will inform you most precisely, and you should carry them out always in accordance with it. *Agrypniai* should also take place following the prescribed form every Sunday, at a feast of the Lord and at commemorations of other saints which we will find out from the *Synaxarion*.



[9] It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God's help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes to increase his monastery to be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers. After the customary collation has taken place in the *narthex*, when the Divine Liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should gather and sit there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the *trapeza semantron*. When the *semantron* has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the Liturgy, you should make obeisance to the *proestos* and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm walk to the *trapeza* ... completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the *proestos* and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by the *trapezarios* to the *proestos*, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the *proestos* wishes. Moreover, the traditional reading must take place ... in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The *proestos* only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the *trapezarios*. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the *trapeza* even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food, or made to learn self-control in another way as the *proestos* wishes. So we completely refuse to speak about seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For 'Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord,' says Holy Scripture, and 'The

Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble.’ So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favour from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart, or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you were found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter ... and does not abide by the command of the *proestos* nor be satisfied with the place allocated to him ... but if ... he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being ... incorrigible ... he is to be driven out of the monastery and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth. For, as some wise man said, ‘Taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue.’ When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the *proestos* reverently, speaking as follows, ‘Bless me, father, I need this.’ So if the *proestos* gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to restrain himself and sit down again thankfully in silence. We do this not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think – for we will not be so much wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them to the comfort of our brothers. For why would we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to your service, as has been said? ... we are curbing the inclination of the will, but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth ... because they neither realise that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good, as he manages all things for our good. We must now return to the point from which we digressed. So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should chant the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, only bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the *proestos*, you should gratefully partake of these also. Drink will be distributed to you with the larger *krasobolion* as is prescribed. But if in fact a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers with the knowledge of the *proestos*, this regulation should not be

observed at supper but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes. ... So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.

[10] But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the chief and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is Monday of the first week, the Liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However, on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavoured with cumin. That is apart from Friday. On this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked without olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger *exagion* because of the feast of the great martyr St Theodore, which the *proestos* must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment. But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy fast in that way. On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large *krasobolion* should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one, not both, will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller *exagion*, that is half of the larger one. Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavoured with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints should happen to fall on one of these days, then the fast should be broken and you should eat two dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the larger *exagion*. You are to eat fish if some are sent by devout people as refreshment, however, it is not to be procured by the monastery deliberately, and you should take care to celebrate one of these aforesaid feasts when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger *exagion* and gruel. But then, on all the other days of this holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If, however, the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast. When the Feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and

drinking wine of the larger *krasobolion*. Furthermore, on the next day you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the Great and Holy Week. For at that time we will use only shellfish, but rather, we will receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week – that is Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday – as on the days of the first week, it is right that we should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavoured with cumin. If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shellfish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger *exagion*, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Holy Friday, or even Holy Saturday itself. On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Holy Friday no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger *exagion* because of your weariness from the *Agrypnia*. On Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction should be avoided and there should only be a collation as is customary. In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, with care being shown to the sick at the discretion of the *proestos*. The procedure for the Fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the Hours and the Divine Liturgy as the *Synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the *trapeza* at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil, and drink wine of the larger *exagion*. Also supper should be set out for you consisting of a small piece of bread and the same amount of wine, namely a larger *exagion*, because of the heat and dryness of the season. However, we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts. The Fast of the Holy Nativity will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion, of course, of the whole canonical office according to the *Synaxarion*. It will differ from it in these two points only – in not performing the Divine Liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast whenever ‘God is the Lord’ is not chanted at *Orthros* but ‘Alleluia’. So these rules should be kept in this way.

[11] All the divine feasts of Our Lord and those of our Lady Evergetis, the most holy Theotokos, should be celebrated by you differently from the rest, in the singing of psalms I mean, in the lighting of lamps and in your own meals. The feast of her holy *Metastasis*, which we in fact call her *Koimesis*, should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner, for it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals. During this feast we order a distribution to be made in the gateway of as much as we are able, and may your hand be generous. Now that we have discussed these matters sufficiently, we will, as is necessary, mention the others.

[12] We instruct all in the name of Our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone's control and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed and directed only by the Theotokos Evergetis, who is worthy of all praise ... So then those should be the principles established in this way.

[13] It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials ... one a recluse, the other unconfined, and that when the recluse one dies, the unconfined one should enter the hermitage and another person should be appointed by you as the unconfined one in the place of him who is now the recluse one ... So there should be one, a recluse, if he wishes to be so, for that should not be totally set aside, but if he does not wish it, unconfined, living the whole time with you without any separation. For he will not be allowed to go to the City or a great distance anywhere else, neither to visit a relative, nor a friend, nor any of his relations, nor an official, nor any other person whatsoever, whether sick or dying, or for any other reason, whether reasonable, unreasonable or even the most pressing, but his excursions will be both in the area surrounding the monastery and in our estates close to it, returning from these quickly lest he should be caught sleeping somewhere outside the monastery. He will leave it if an emperor or patriarch happens to summon him, or if some enemies make a raid when all of us are forced to leave. For these reasons only will he be free to go to the City, since visits to the aforementioned estates act as a relief from *akedia*. For our instruction in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All will be laid upon him as an indissoluble bond and be thought of as an unscalable wall as the divine David says, and as a door that will be barred against him to prevent him going from here to the City and sleeping anywhere else. If he should ever transgress this instruction, treating it as of no account, he will be excommunicated. These provisions are so that the *proestos* should never go out of the monastery; and

now it is necessary to set down in writing how he should be appointed. After I have completed<sup>2</sup> this mortal life, the one who is left by me as *proestos* should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline and their spiritual state and way of life, and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as *oikonomos*; and he should install him in the following way. After the dismissal from *Orthros* and the customary prayer said by the priest, a *trisagion* should be said by all, and the one chosen should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine and revered icons of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the most holy Theotokos and universal Evergetis. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the *proestos* and then offer him his head bowed and uncovered, and he, making over it the sign of the venerable cross, should reverently say as follows, 'The intercession of my most holy Theotokos through the prayers of the Holy Fathers is installing you *oikonomos* of the monastery.' Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord, he is to set him in his appropriate place. Next all without exception are to kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow the usual prayer of the priest. If this *oikonomos* carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you ... should the *proestos* know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him to leadership over you, since his faultless actions as *oikonomos* have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way. ... if not, then you, that is those who are pre-eminent and the most devout, should place this *typikon* on the holy table and rest also the staff against it and when the one selected has entered the holy sanctuary, after the prescribed *trisagion* and these *troparia*: 'Have mercy on us, have mercy, O Lord'; 'Lord, Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold and visit,' 'Glory both now', 'Thou, the only begotten Son, of the same substance with Thy Father and the Spirit', and thirty repetitions of *Kyrie eleison*, and, after he has made three full genuflections before the holy table, you should invite him to take from it the *typikon* and the staff while all repeat 'He is worthy'. You should invite him to go out and stand in his appropriate place and be kissed by everyone ... Then again he and you should select the one who surpasses you all in virtue, and install him as *oikonomos* in accordance with the regulation stated above. So much for those matters. [14] So if the *oikonomos* should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he

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<sup>2</sup> Here the meaning is expressed in the Greek in an abstract way thus avoiding a verb with the 'I' ending.



will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore, he will rise to the *hegoumeneia* since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his office in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favours for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has shown himself to be a troublemaker and a dissident contradicting the reasonable regulations of the *proestos*, or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control, or has been totally disregarding any of the instructions in the *typikon* and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions or has become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore has been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness, and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of *oikonomos* ... The other will be removed and made subordinate again. ... he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the *hegoumeneia*, and with him you should take thought about another, better *oikonomos*. But if, something I pray God does not allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad *oikonomos* himself will become your *proestos* to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable ... If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation ... even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man still not give up his evil ways, but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected ... The one removed from office may, if he wishes, reside in a cell of the monastery ... being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However, we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the *proestos* to consider. ... when you are examining and selecting the *proestotes* and *oikonomoi* ... there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favouritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together as if he was observing you, he the eye 'that beholdeth all things' and 'searcheth hearts and reins'. Your selecting and examining should take place in that way. For if suffering from some human failing you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow; and if 'the righteous' and unerring 'judge' were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defence you would make to secure your escape from



condemnation, you who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy person and brought such great harm not only on him but also on yourselves and all the others who are with you seeing that you have secured perdition for him, yourselves and the others. So then you will not resort to quarrelling and dissensions in your selection, but you should choose the selected person in unanimity and agreement. Of course if you intend to select the chosen person while the *proestos* is still alive ...

[15] ... and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed to previous [*proestotes*] but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that you being human should not think something wicked at some time. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be 'one', 'being of the same mind,' thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and fitted together into one body under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder. But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his *proestos* but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavour to confide his thoughts to him, he should be put out somewhere far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity from anyone, but as someone who removes himself by his own evil – O eyes of 'God that behold all things' – evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and be counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of ... all ... kinds of instability, disorder and serious harm. That man should be treated thus. [16] ... Also for my sake maintain love, peace and harmony in your dealings with one another, 'instructing, comforting and forbearing one another, stirring up one another to love and good works' and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, 'This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you', and again, 'By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.' Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all power and enthusiasm. [17] ... that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you ... and by the *proestos* himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is

unlearned and without experience in worldly things. For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For 'God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham' and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, 'God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are.' Those are the instructions concerning the appointment ...

[19] We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable – for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property – and not only inalienable but also completely safe from removal and theft by anyone at all, because they were acquired with much toil and labour and were dedicated as offerings to our Lady and Mistress the most holy Theotokos Evergetis, and the man who hands over any of these or removes them for any reason whatsoever will be liable to the charge of sacrilege and will be subject to the penalties laid down by law for this. For neither we nor any other sensible person could define a reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire, or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations, or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it. For then they will be removed or handed over with good reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved. This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the *proestos*, the *oikonomos*, the *ekklesiarches*, and the other pre-eminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people, with the *brebion* set in the middle of them ... Furthermore, we instruct that there should be a detailed list to indicate the things that have been removed, signed by all those who gathered together and clearly setting out both the types of things removed and the reason for which they were removed; this should be deposited in the *skeuophylakion* to inform posterity. What more? [20] We instruct the person who looks after the income and expenditure of the monastery to record everything in detail, in the case of the income from where it came and when, and in the case of the expenditure the reason for it and on what project, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone. This matter has been mentioned in as fitting a manner

as was possible; now our document should move on to other matters and we should speak about them also as well as we can.

[21] If any of your number should gather on some manual task or another service and amuse themselves with idle conversations – for this is usual at gatherings – and then turn to vain chattering – for ‘by a multitude of words,’ he says, ‘thou shalt not escape sin’ – they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent. For the author of the Book of Proverbs says, ‘If thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent’ and discreet. Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method; for these people especially must take care to guard their minds at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the Devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock and shepherd. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness ‘with a contrite heart’ he will also be punished – for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn [to say] ‘Bless and forgive me, brother’; – and those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the *proestos*, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behaviour, they will be punished. [22] Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an *obol* or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the *proestos*, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely. [23] This also should be added to what has been said. We do not wish there to be a fixed number of you, but you will be as many as will have enough food, and as many as surpass all the rest in reverence, love and concord and obey their *proestotes* ‘in all patience’ and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly are to be preferred. The rest should be sent away, even if you have to be reduced to small numbers. For ‘one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors.’ [24] It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good that there should be two of you in your cells ... But if the *proestos* should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement. [25] We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse ... and it is good to take care of your old garments as

much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the Devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the *proestos*. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any. [26] In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our Lady herself, the Theotokos Evergetis, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. ... For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For, I think,<sup>3</sup> this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offence. [27] ... he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need. [28] You should live completely without bathing. For although we have built a bath in the monastery, yet it was not that you should live in an effeminate way, bathing and being in good physical condition, but that the sick could be comforted, if necessary. ... So these instructions are enough for your virtue, but lest you wrangle about the other matters, I must deal with them also.

[29] The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the installation of the *oikonomos*, that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or the Theotokos, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the *proestos*, and receive from him the blessing mentioned above. However, for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon ... will be sufficient for the installation. ... [31] It is necessary that there should be an *epistemonarches* observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour advising and correcting in a brotherly way any who sit down together without good reason or chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork. Furthermore, there should also be a *trapezarios*, attending to whatever the *kellarites* supplies him with, and going round the *trapeza* at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down

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<sup>3</sup> In this case the Greek does have a verb with an 'I' ending. It is written almost as an aside.

at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the *trapeza* and note which of them was absent during grace and which during the meal and report these to the *proestos*. For, if he does not do this, he will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly. [32] Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to Our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure Mother and everyone's benefactress, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit. [33] ... those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the *proestotes*, and in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defence before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the *synaxeis* not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their own brothers in imitation of him, who says, 'I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many.' ... For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For, the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays the humility that exalts, mercy and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like 'the Heavenly Father.' So why do you give up the treasure-house and the culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? 'We are afraid', they say, 'because of our failure to carry out the rule'; but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to you failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your offices eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well. ...[34] Since then as a consequence of our weakness we have gained possession of some small pieces of immovable property, the *proestos*

must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is, they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial. Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died.

[36]... commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should be remembered by us, and equally for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs. In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered each day during every *synaxis*, and I mean during *Orthros*, the Liturgy and *Hesperinon*, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf. In addition to this the *ekklesiarches* must note down the commemorations of each of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail. Yet on this matter it is necessary to describe something more practical: for as the number of brothers dying increases, it is possible that sometimes the commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and those who are going to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the services of *Pannychis* are forced always to leave out the canons prescribed for the services of *Pannychis*, which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased. So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the *Pannychis* of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think,<sup>4</sup> to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness ... you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for all of the people at the same time during one *Pannychis* ... In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon. So in both the services of *Pannychis* and in the Liturgies on their behalf it is fine that commemorations should take place for them all at the same time during one service as offerings are made for each one. Since a priest specifically to look after burials has been established, let him act as he wishes or rather as he is able. As regards the distributions in the gateway on behalf of ... anyone at all who has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, and people who have agreed or will agree that something be distributed for their commemoration, as has been said, we urge that these be carried out generously.

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<sup>4</sup> As above, the verb has an 'T' ending. Again it is written almost as an aside.



However, as regards the diptychs we command in the Lord both the priests themselves and the deacons to consult them at every Liturgy in order to commemorate those who are listed on them, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them. Enough has now been said also about these matters.

[37] It is necessary to speak also about those who are tonsured. If they are distinguished people or of people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life, they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here, they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic head-dress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for six whole months, then they should be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the *proestos* whether they should be accepted or not. Furthermore, he should consider carefully the monks who come from a different monastery. Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning an *apotage* and a *prosenexis*. For one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money ... But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted. For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to atone for his sins, and moreover, that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his all-pure mother the Evergetis. For an *apotage* and a *prosenexis* are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses. Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as everyone and according to the rule of the monastery then in force. If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons – there are many such examples of fickleness – and tries to leave the monastery and would like to take his offering away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it. That deals with that matter.



[38] You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this? It is the distribution in the gateway and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick for whom we built the *xenodocheion*, begging the site from some devout Christian on the understanding that we would guarantee to comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care we could to those among them that are sick and confined to bed, to clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves – for we do not permit that – but by the *proestos*, to feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with the bread and wine already specified and some legumes, those that are excess to your needs – for these should have come from your lack, but since this is not possible, let them come from your excess, for what a person can do is dear to God – and to bury those who die in the strangers' burial-place built for them, lest gaining the less important things from you they should unwittingly be neglected in something greater and more important, and not to bury them simply nor in any haphazard fashion, but first the burial chants are to be sung by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf. For we do not wish anyone to return from the gateway empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, 'not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not,' but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gateway more frequently and would be found to be the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If, however, there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the *Koimesis* of our most-holy Lady the Theotokos and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause us any harm. [39] We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore, as many as are well-known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in, but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able both to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves. ... [41] So then, a few things have already been said before about our sick brothers, assigning all their care to the discretion of the *proestos*, but it is necessary to discuss them at greater length. Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and eight beds for their rest and comfort, and two orderlies to minister to them in every way, and a large stove on which their food should be cooked and the other things for their comfort should be heated, and their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with

regard to food and drink and other necessities. The doctor, if there is one, should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers every day and in a wholehearted manner and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen or eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.

[42] So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to God and the Evergetis, and they are greatly beneficial for your help; and in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean,<sup>5</sup> to carry out completely in all the *synaxeis* the canonical procedure handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honour which is due to your *proestotes*, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labour with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and 'to complete what is lacking' in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway *synaxeis*, to refrain from claiming the seat of honour and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of the soul, furthermore, to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean<sup>6</sup> the love of money and the love of power, and the filching and secret acquisition of the monastery's possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the *proestos* has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief,<sup>7</sup> banish everything that does not lead to salvation. So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for not one thing of what has

<sup>5</sup> As above with such verbs as 'I think' this also is almost an aside.

<sup>6</sup> See n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> The verb in this common expression does have an 'I' ending.

been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were thought of as such, perhaps by some of those who are weaker, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we can to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; for 'the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force.' No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labours of battles. 'Through many tribulations,' the Lord says, 'we must enter the kingdom' of heaven ...

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## Appendix 2

# The *Hypotyposis* and later *typika*: Influential Chapters<sup>1</sup>

### A. Direct Borrowers

*Phoberos*: 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 21; 22; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34; 36; 37; 38; 39; 41; 42; 43.

*Kosmosoteira*: 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 13; 14; 19; 22; 25; 26; 27; 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34.

*Chilandar*: 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 10; 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 26; 29; 31; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 40; 41; 43.

### B. Indirect Borrowers

*Kecharitomene*: 4; 5; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14; 16; 17; 26; 32; 33; 36; 41; 42; 43.

*St Mamas*: 3; 4; 5; 6; 9; 10; 13; 14; 17; 18; 21; 22; 26; 33; 36; 37; 41; 42; 43.

*Elegmoi*: little more than a copy of the *Typikon* of St Mamas

*Machairas*: 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 21; 22; 25; 26; 29; 32; 34; 36; 37; 38; 41; 42; 43.

*Menoikeion*: 9; 14; 17; 21; 33; 42.

### Subject matter of the *Hypotyposis* chapters

3. Invocation and introduction to the discourse
4. First Hour and *Orthros*
5. Holy Liturgy and receiving communion
6. Ninth Hour, Vespers, *Apodeipnon* and *Mesonyktikon*
7. Confession
8. *Agrypniai*

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<sup>1</sup> NB the chapters are *not* listed in the order in which they appear in their respective *typika*.

- 9 . Table and diet
- 10 . Fasts
- 11 . Feasts
- 12 . Independence of monastery
- 13 . Installation of *hegoumenos* and *oikonomos*
- 14 . Reasons for removal of *oikonomos*
- 15 . Confession only to the *proestos*
- 16 . Exhortation to the brothers
- 17 . Exhortation to the *proestos*
- 18 . Brothers not to question *hegoumenoi* about money
- 19 . Inalienability of sacred objects and immovable property
- 20 . Need for the *docheiarios* to record income and expenditure
- 21 . Chatterers and idle talkers to be admonished by a superior
- 22 . No private possessions or secret eating
- 23 . No fixed number of brothers
- 24 . Brothers not to have servants
- 25 . Garments to be bought in advance and stored
- 26 . Everyone to have the same food, drink and clothing
- 27 . The *hegoumenos* to visit cells monthly and take unnecessary items
- 28 . Bathing
- 29 . Installation of officials
- 30 . The *skeuophylax* and two *docheiarioi*
- 31 . The *epistemonarches* and the *trapezarios*
- 32 . Behaviour of monastery officials
- 33 . Exhortation to all officials
- 34 . Sort of people sent out to monastery's properties
- 35 . Commemoration of Paul, the first founder
- 36 . Commemorations of fathers, brothers and benefactors
- 37 . Those who are tonsured
- 38 . Distributions in the gateway and reception of the sick and strangers
- 39 . No entry for women except eminent and noble ones
- 40 . The founder's exhortation to all
- 41 . The infirmary and the sick
- 42 . Further exhortation from the founder
- 43 . Reading of the *typikon* each month

## Appendix 3

# The Books at Evergetis: A Reconstruction<sup>1</sup>

### Liturgical Books

#### *Apostolos*

Book containing the readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles used at each celebration of the Divine Liturgy or, during Lent, at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.

#### *‘Great Gospel’*

Presumably a large and ornate copy of the four gospels. Its use is specified in the *Synaxarion* on two occasions: (a) on Friday evening of Holy Week for the service of Vespers on Holy and Great Saturday and (b) on Saturday evening of Holy Week for the service of Vespers that leads into the Easter celebrations. It is likely that the same Gospel book was used for the *asposmos* ceremony towards the end of *Orthros* on Easter Sunday morning. As on the two previous days, the *Synaxarion* also specifies that a great Gospel be used for the entrance during Vespers on the evening of Easter Day.<sup>2</sup> The entrance at Vespers consists of a procession by the officiating priest and deacon with the priest carrying the book of the gospels. They leave the sanctuary by the door at the northern end of the iconostasis and return into the sanctuary by the royal doors in the middle of the iconostasis. On each occasion the text of the *Synaxarion* simply says ‘entrance with great [gospel]’ thereby leaving its readers to speculate whether the monastery in fact had more than one of these ceremonial books.

#### *Gospel*

Book containing the readings from the four Gospels used at each celebration of the Divine Liturgy or, during Lent, at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.

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<sup>1</sup> To compare the numbers and titles of books possessed by other monasteries see *SkoteineTest*, ch. 24, p. 1185; *EleousaInv*, ch. 3, pp. 1672–3. See also Waring, ‘Literacies of Lists’.

<sup>2</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.59 V.3; T.60 V.3; P.01.



*Horologion*

Book containing the daily offices of Vespers, *Apodeipnon* (Compline), *Pannychis*, *Orthros* and The Hours covering the fixed cycle from September to August.

*Kontakarion*

Book containing *kontakia* (hymns in honour of a particular saint or feast) set out for each month on a daily basis for the whole year.<sup>3</sup>

*Menaia*<sup>4</sup>

Books containing the specific hymns and prayers ('propers') in the services of Vespers and *Orthros* for a particular month of the fixed cycle from September to August.

*Menologion of the apostle*

Book setting out the apostolic readings for the Divine Liturgy in order according to the church calendar.<sup>5</sup>

*Menologion of the gospel*

Book setting out the gospel readings for the Divine Liturgy in order according to the church calendar.

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<sup>3</sup> On this volume see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 O.9b.

<sup>4</sup> References are made specifically to some *Menaia* volumes: of September, January, February and August, see *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.17 O.9b; I.05 PN.1; II.02 O.5h; vol. 2, VIII.31 PN.1. We may presume from this that the monastery possessed a set of 12 *Menaia* to cover the year.

<sup>5</sup> On the term *Menologion*, the portion of the *Synaxarion* which details the prescriptions for services from September to August is described at the beginning of the *Triodion* section of the *Synaxarion* as the *menologion* part of the *Synaxarion*; see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.01 N.2.

### *The Metaphrases of Symeon*<sup>6</sup>

Set of ten volumes containing the *Lives* or *Martyria* of saints and martyrs commemorated throughout the year organised according to the church calendar.<sup>7</sup> These compositions were almost always read during *Orthros*.

### *Oktoechos*

Book frequently referred to in the *Synaxarion* and containing elements of services throughout the year except for Lent, Easter and Pentecost. These services are arranged according to the eight (*okto*) Byzantine musical modes.<sup>8</sup>

### *Panegyrika*<sup>9</sup>

Books containing encomia, homilies and other compositions by such figures as St John Chrysostom, St Basil the Great, St John of Damascus, St Andrew

<sup>6</sup> Symeon, writer, high official and saint (feast day 28 November), is commonly named Metaphrastes after his most famous work. He lived in the second half of the tenth century and is thought to have died c. 1000; however, the details of his life are much disputed. He composed a hymn to the Trinity, various canons and *stichera*, but his fame came from the large collection of saints' *Lives* or *Martyria* which he composed in a standardized form and a pure style of language. These *Lives*, usually organized in ten volumes and arranged according to the church calendar, became standard reading in monasteries from the eleventh century onwards, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1983. During the second half of the eleventh century illustrated copies of these volumes were also made; on these see N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990). On the arrangement of the *Lives* in ten volumes see Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, pp. 5f. Excerpts from the *Metaphrases* also appear here and there in the *Synagoge* (listed below), see Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> From a detailed examination of the readings prescribed in the *Synaxarion* Evaggeli Skaka has established that the Evergetis monastery possessed a complete set of the *Metaphrases* covering the whole year. See A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols (TU, vols 50–52, Leipzig, 1937–40) esp. vol. 2, pp. 306–717. The *Metaphrases* at Evergetis may not have been in the usual ten volumes (see preceding note) but may have been gathered together more haphazardly in various volumes as the monastery was able to procure copies. For such copies of the *Metaphrases* see Inventory 4 (September 1200) of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos in Astruc, 'L'inventaire'. One short phrase in the *Synaxarion* regarding a reading at *Orthros* on Saturday of the Sixth Week of Lent indicates that the *Metaphrases* for January were in two volumes at Evergetis; see *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.52, O.5.

<sup>8</sup> See for example *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.01 O.12; IX.02 O.9; IX.03 O.12; IX.04 V.10, O.12.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *Synaxarion*, the Evergetis monastery had five different *Panegyrika* referred to as 'the first large one', 'the second large one', 'the first small one', 'the second small one',

of Crete and St Gregory of Nyssa to be read chiefly at *Orthros* throughout the ecclesiastical year.<sup>10</sup>

### *Praxapostolos*

Book containing the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles which was read at the end of the service of *Pannychis*. The Epistles, starting with that to the Romans, were read on Sundays beginning from the Sunday of All Saints at the end of the Easter period; if necessary they were started again. The Acts of the Apostles was read at *Pannychis* on the Sundays of Easter until Pentecost.<sup>11</sup>

### *Propheteia/Prophetologion*<sup>12</sup>

Book containing the readings for Vespers taken from the Old Testament.

### *Psalterion*

The Psalter.

### *Triodion*

Book containing the prescriptions for services during the movable cycle, the periods of Lent and Easter.<sup>13</sup>

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and 'the *Panegyrikon* of Lent'. For mss containing *Panegyrika* see Cod. Messan. graec. 89 (dated 10 October 1126 by its scribe) and Cod. Messan. graec. 30 (dated 2 September 1307 by its scribe) in Maria Teresa Rodriquez, *Catalogo dei manoscritti datati del fondo del SS. Salvatore* (Messina, 1999), pp. 57–62.

<sup>10</sup> For a full list of the homilies, encomia etc. stated by the *Synaxarion* to be in the *Panegyrika* at Evergetis see *EvSynax*, vol. 3, Index of Non-Scriptural Readings, pp. 163–207.

<sup>11</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, P.57 PN.

<sup>12</sup> In the *Synaxarion* specifications for Vespers on 1 September we find this instruction: 'look for these [readings] in the book which has the prophecies of the feast and the psalter'. So clearly Evergetis did have a Book of Prophecies. The passages specified were drawn from a variety of books of the Old Testament, not just those strictly considered prophetic, for example, Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Leviticus, Numbers, Proverbs, III Kings and Job.

<sup>13</sup> At a later period the prescriptions for the period of Easter (from *Orthros* on Easter Sunday to the Divine Liturgy on the Sunday of All Saints) were put into a separate volume called the *Pentekostarion*.

### *Tropologion*

Collection of short hymns (*troparia*) referred to in the *Synaxarion*.<sup>14</sup> There are specific references to *stichera* (stanzas), *exaposteilaria* (concluding *troparia*) and poetic *kathismata* being contained in this book.

### **Anonymous Books**

#### *The Paterikon*

Probably a book containing sayings and tales of the Desert Fathers of Egypt and Palestine. In the *Synagoge* such a collection was given the title *The Gerontikon*. Excerpts drawn from this literature were especially valued by Paul, the first founder, and are the most prominent feature of the *Synagoge*. A book entitled *The Paterikon* was specified to be used at *Orthros* on the 27 and 28 August for the reading of *The Apophthegmata of Poimen* and those of *Moses the Ethiopian*.

### **Authored Books**

#### *Basil the Great: The Ethics (Moralia)*

One of the books that could be read on Saturdays and Sundays at *Orthros* during Lent, if there was no reading to commemorate the saint of that day from the fixed cycle.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Cyril of Alexandria: Thesaurus de Trinitate*<sup>16</sup>

#### *Dorotheos of Gaza*

In the composition of his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the work by this author called *Doctrina*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.29 O.10; XII.31 O.9a.

<sup>15</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.4.

<sup>16</sup> See Introduction, B. 10: Manuscript and Book Production: An Evergetis Scriptorium.

<sup>17</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 195–9.

*Ephrem the Syrian*

Unspecified works were to be read from Monday of the First Week of Lent during *Orthros* and at the Third, Sixth and Ninth Hours. Two or three pages are specified for *Orthros* and one and a half pages for each of The Hours.<sup>18</sup>

In the composition of his *Katechetikon*, Paul made use of the following works of Ephrem:

*De virtute*

*De virtute in capita decem*

*In illud, attende tibi ipsi*

*Consilium de vita spirituali*

*De recta vivendi ratione*

*Quomodo quis in humilitatem sibi comparet*

*Ad eversionem superbiae*

*De continentia*

*De recordatione mortis*

*De Sancto Juliano.*<sup>19</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel (Bk 1)*<sup>20</sup>

Read at *Orthros* during the period from 19 December to the Sunday of Tyrophagos just before Lent.<sup>21</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel (Bk 2)*

Read at *Orthros* during the period from 17 September to the Sunday of the Holy Patriarchs.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.12 O.5d; T.13 O.5a.

<sup>19</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, pp. 199–202.

<sup>20</sup> The *Commentaries* by John Chrysostom were read during the year at *Orthros* if there was no special reading such as a *Life* or *Martyrion* or a *homily* appropriate for the day. References to the *Commentaries* in the prescriptions for the services are patchy and so the periods listed are approximate.

<sup>21</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, XII.19 K.1N after *Pannychis*; vol. 2, T.05 O.5c; T.06 O.5c and n. 99.

<sup>22</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.17 O.5. See also below on John Chrysostom: *The Ethics*.

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on St John's Gospel*

Read at *Orthros* during periods from 10 May to 19 August, during Lent from Wednesday of the Sixth Week to Holy and Great Saturday and from Easter Sunday to Tuesday after the Sunday of Pentecost.<sup>23</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*

Read at *Orthros* during the period from the Sunday of All Saints to 1 September.<sup>24</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on the Hexaemeron (the Six Days of Creation)*

One of the books that could be read on Saturdays and Sundays at *Orthros* during Lent if there was no reading to commemorate the saint of that day from the fixed cycle.<sup>25</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Commentary on the Psalter*

One of the books that could be read on Saturdays and Sundays at *Orthros* during Lent if there was no reading to commemorate the saint of that day from the fixed cycle.<sup>26</sup>

*John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles**John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Book of Genesis**John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Epistles of St Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians*<sup>27</sup>*John Chrysostom: The Ethics (Moralia)*

Book set to be read at *Orthros* if the Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel (Bk 2) (see above) should run out before Sunday of the Holy Patriarchs, which falls shortly before the Nativity of Christ.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, on various days from IV.16 O.5 to VIII.19 O.5c and from T.49 O to P.52 O.5c.

<sup>24</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, VII.03; P.57 O.5c; P.58 O.5c.

<sup>25</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.4.

<sup>26</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.4; T.25 O.5i.

<sup>27</sup> For these *Homilies* see Introduction, B. 10: Manuscript and Book Production.

<sup>28</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, IX.17 O.5.

*John Chrysostom: The Pearls (Margaritai)*

Book from which three specified homilies were taken to be read during *Orthros*.<sup>29</sup>

*John Chrysostom: The Statues (Andriantes)*

One of the books that could be read on Saturdays and Sundays during Lent at *Orthros* if there was no reading to commemorate the saint of that day from the fixed cycle.<sup>30</sup>

*John Klimakos: The Ladder of Divine Ascent*

Starting with Chapter One on Tuesday of the First Week of Lent, this work was read each day during Lent at the First Hour and in the *trapeza*.<sup>31</sup>

*John of Karpathos*

In the composition of three *katecheseis* in his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the work *Ad monachos in India*.<sup>32</sup>

*Mark the Monk*

In the composition of his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the following work(s) of Mark:

*Ad Nicolaum*

and the work of Pseudo-Mark:

*De jejunio*.<sup>33</sup>

*Maximos the Confessor*

In the composition of his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the following works of Maximos:

*Liber asceticus*

<sup>29</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 1, X.31 N.2.

<sup>30</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.17 N.4.

<sup>31</sup> *EvSynax*, vol. 2, T.13 First Hour; T.26 First Hour; T.33 First Hour.

<sup>32</sup> For a description of this work and the correspondences with the *Katechetikon* see Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p.147 and pp. 208–10.

<sup>33</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 202–5.



*Sermo hortatorius*.<sup>34</sup>

### *Neilos of Ankyra*

In the composition of his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the following works of Neilos:

*De oratione*

*Ad Eulogium*.<sup>35</sup>

### *Paul of Evergetis: The Synagoge*

A manual of the spiritual life consisting of excerpts from such writers as Mark the Monk, St Ephrem, Abba Esaias, St Gregory the Great and St Maximos the Confessor, and numerous portions from the *Gerontikon*, collated and put together by Paul, the first founder of the Evergetis monastery.<sup>36</sup>

### *Pseudo-Makarios*

In the composition of his *Katechetikon* Paul made use of the following works that circulated under the name of St Makarios the Great:

*De perfectione in spiritu*

*De oratione*

*De elevatione mentis*

*De caritate*

*De libertate mentis*.<sup>37</sup>

### *Theodore the Stoudite: The Katecheseis*

These were read each Sunday, Wednesday and Friday of Lent by certain specified monastic officials at the First Hour beginning from the Sunday of Tyrophagos. The sources for the majority of Paul's *Katecheseis* (220 out of 368) are Theodore's *Parvae* and *Magnae Catecheses*.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 189–92.

<sup>35</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 206–8.

<sup>36</sup> Two copies of this work are listed in a book inventory of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos dated to 1200, see also Introduction, A. 1: The Evergetis Dossier and n. 35.

<sup>37</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 192–5.

<sup>38</sup> See Crostini, *An Eleventh-century Liturgical Homiliary*, p. 147 and pp. 171–88.

*Theodoret: Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets*<sup>39</sup>**Missing Liturgical Books**

In addition to the liturgical books listed above there is a possibility that the Evergetis monastery also possessed a few others; among these are the following:

*Sticherarion*

Book containing *stichera* for the services; some monasteries possessed two of these, one for Lent and one for the rest of the year.<sup>40</sup> Sometimes *sticheraria* supplied the musical notation also.

*Heirmologion*

Book containing the *heirmoi*, model verses used in the chanting of the canons at *Orthros*.<sup>41</sup>

*Book of Exaposteilaria (concluding troparia)*

Collection of all the *exaposteilaria* chanted at *Orthros* throughout the year. The Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos had one such in the inventory of 1200.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See Introduction, B. 10: Manuscript and Book Production.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 1 above for similar lists of liturgical books. Perhaps in the case of Evergetis any necessary *stichera* were contained in the *Tropologion*, see above.

<sup>41</sup> On this book see *AttaleiatesRule*, INV 7, p. 359; *SkoteinëTest*, chs 24, p. 1185; 42, p. 1190; *EleousaInv*, ch. 3, p. 1673.

<sup>42</sup> See Astruc, 'L'inventaire'; *SkoteinëTest*, ch. 24, p. 1185. Perhaps the *exaposteilaria* at Evergetis were contained in the *Tropologion*, see above.

## Appendix 4

# The Identity of the Monk *kyr* Anthony

The monk *kyr* Anthony, who had held the important titles of *pansebastos*, *sebastos* and *megas doux* in the world, was identified by Gautier with John Doukas, the brother of Irene Doukaina, the wife of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).<sup>1</sup> In the list of commemorations in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene, we learn that both John Doukas and his father Andronikos had become monks, interestingly both with the same monastic name, Anthony, but the text does not specify where.<sup>2</sup> If the monk Anthony of the Evergetis is indeed this John Doukas, we know that he was an important military figure at the time of the First Crusade, but he disappears from the historical record in 1097.<sup>3</sup> The section of the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene in which John's future commemoration is mentioned makes it clear that he is still alive; this section has been dated to 1110–1116.<sup>4</sup> He is also mentioned, under his monastic name of Anthony, in the list of Komnene commemorations contained in the liturgical *typikon* for the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos, also founded by Irene Doukaina.<sup>5</sup> There we learn that he died on 5 January, at an unknown date, but which, it has been suggested, was probably at some point between 1116 and 1136, since he is cited amongst the deceased uncles of the Emperor John II Komnenos in the obituary list in the *typikon* of the emperor's monastic complex of Christ Pantokrator (1136).<sup>6</sup> The *sebastos* John Doukas also appears in Nicholas of Methone's *Life*

<sup>1</sup> See Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergétis', pp. 10–11; 92, n. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *KecharitomeneTyp*, ch. 71, p. 702. See A.-M. Talbot and S. McGrath, 'Monastic Onomastics', in Kaplan (ed.), *Monastères, images, pouvoirs*, 89–118, pp. 95; 102–3. As they point out, *metonomasia* was not a 'mandatory practice' in the middle Byzantine period (p. 95).

<sup>3</sup> See D.I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968) no. 25, pp. 66–70. B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980) no. 89, pp. 145–150 also summarises his life but does not include this possible reference to him in the *Hypotyposis*.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè', *REB*, 43 (1985), 5–165, pp. 12–14.

<sup>5</sup> See Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons'.

<sup>6</sup> See Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons', no. 13, p. 53. They are in no doubt that the Monk Anthony concerned is the Anthony of the Evergetis and should be identified with the *sebastos* John Doukas, brother of the Empress Irene Doukaina, as they read the marginal note on f. 56v of Ms. Istanbul Panagia Kamariotissa 29 as <Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ> [i.e. 5 January] ἐκοιμ(ή)θη

of Saint Meletios of Myoupolis written in the mid-twelfth century where he is described as 'sensible and devout'.<sup>7</sup> He was probably also the recipient of two or three letters from Theophylact of Ochrid.<sup>8</sup> Oikonomides, however, suggested the identification of *kyr* Anthony with Andronikos Kontostephanos but gave no reason for this.<sup>9</sup> His identification might have derived from the fact that the earliest *mezas doux ton stolon* with a secular name beginning with an 'A' identified by Guiland was indeed this individual, a nephew of Manuel I Komnenos.<sup>10</sup> In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, it was not unusual to find a monastic name which did not begin with the same initial as the individual's name in the world, though the practice of using a name beginning with the initial of the baptismal name was growing.<sup>11</sup> If this were indeed the case, since we know that John Doukas's father, Andronikos, also became a monk under the name Anthony, it might be argued that he would be a more likely candidate for the Anthony of the Evergetis. But if we now turn to the issue of the titles given to the monk Anthony in the *Hypotyposis*, the balance of the question of identity turns strongly in favour of John Doukas. For there is independent evidence for him holding the titles of *sebastos*, *protosebastos* and *mezas doux (ton stolon)*.<sup>12</sup> His father Andronikos, referred to in the *Typikon* of Kecharitomene as holding the titles of *provestiarios*, *protoproedros* and *domestikos ton scholon* of the East, according to the independent witness of the *Diataxis* of Attaleiates and the so-called *Praktikon* of Andronikos Doukas, also possessed the titles of *mezas doux ton scholon (tes Anatoles)* and/or *mezas domestikos* but does not seem ever to

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ὁ (μο)ναχ(ὸς) κύρ <Ἀντῶ>νιο(ς) σεβαστὸς (καὶ) αὐ<τάδε>λφος> τ(ῆς) ἀγ(ίας) ἡμ(ῶν) δεσποίν(ης) <ὁ Δο>ύκας, thus making what seems to be a clear identification of the Monk Anthony with a member of the Doukas family. They consider that he entered the monastery c. 1110. Note, however, the mistake in their genealogical table on p. 44 which has John Doukas as the Monk Michael and his brother Michael Doukas (who, in fact, retained his baptismal name when he became a monk, see no. 14, p. 54) as the Monk Anthony, rather than *vice versa*.

<sup>7</sup> See P. Armstrong, *The Lives of Meletios of Myoupolis* (unpublished Masters Thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1988), Text, ch. 27, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid*, G8, p. 295; G17, p. 299; ?G26, p. 303.

<sup>9</sup> Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, p. 285.

<sup>10</sup> See R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin/Amsterdam, 1967), vol. 1, p. 545.

<sup>11</sup> See Talbot and McGrath, 'Onomastics', p. 95.

<sup>12</sup> *Kecharitomene Typ* ch. 71, p. 702, cites him as *pasebastos* and *sebastos*; the liturgical *typikon* of Christ Philanthropos, however, simply cites him as *sebastos*. He is variously cited as *protosebastos* or *sebastos* in two documents from the archives of Iviron, dating to 1090–1094 and after 1104, see Kouroupou and Vannier, 'Commémoraisons', no. 13, p. 53. See also Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 69, and Guiland, *Recherches*, vol. 1, p. 543.

have been either *sebastos* or *pansebastos*.<sup>13</sup> It seems almost certain, therefore, that the monk *kyr* Anthony was indeed John Doukas. One might also see the use of Anthony's title of *megas doux* in the *Hypotyposis*, rather than his court ranks of *sebastos* or *pansebastos*, as a play on words referring to a 'great' or 'powerful' member of the Doukas clan.

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<sup>13</sup> *Kecharitomenē Typ*, ch. 71, p. 702. See Guillard, *Recherches*, vol. 1, p. 23, nn. 107 and 454 where Guillard notes that the title *megas doux ton scholon tes Anatoles* is 'assez rare et équivalent de grand domestique'.

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## Appendix 5

# The Patrons Promotenos and Kataphloron

And the distributions in the gateway on behalf of certain people, for example, let me say, Promotenos, Kataphloron, and in short everyone at all who has left or will leave, as has been said, something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, and for people who have agreed or will agree that something be distributed for their commemoration, we urge that these be provided generously. (*Hypotyposis*, ch. 36).

This passage, containing additions of names to the original *typikon* of Paul, refers to two individuals who, at the time of writing, had already patronised the monastery in some way by making gifts of money or property to the house itself or by donating money to be given to the poor in return for commemorative prayers. While it is impossible precisely to identify the persons involved, the two names concerned (both male surnames) place this passage firmly in the context of the eleventh century and thus may refer to two of the earliest lay patrons of the house, since they have presumably already died. In fact, many of the members of the two families who are known to us can be roughly dated to the mid- to late-eleventh century, which might indicate that they were personally known either to Paul (d. 1054) or to Timothy (d. after 1067).

The families of Promotenos/Promontenos/Proumountenos/Promoundenos/Promoundinos and Kataphloros/Kataphloron are well attested on seals datable to the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> Michael Promontenos,<sup>2</sup> *spatharokandidatos*,<sup>3</sup> is recorded around the second quarter of the eleventh century. Leo Promoundenos is recorded on a seal of c. 1040–1050 as *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For all information (including suggested dates, which can only be approximate) obtained from seals, see the website of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*: <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk>. We are immensely grateful for the assistance of Tassos Papacostas in providing access to data from the *PBW Boulloterion* which at present covers the period 1025–1261 and of Michael Jeffreys in supplying further references from texts not then entered in *PBW*. As the *PBW* databases are continually updated, the prosopographical information presented here should not be considered complete.

<sup>2</sup> Variations in spelling have been preserved.

<sup>3</sup> The court dignity of *spatharokandidatos* is attested from the first half of the ninth century and seems to have disappeared in the twelfth century. On seals it is often found in conjunction with lower legal officials or notaries, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1936.

<sup>4</sup> The *protospatharios* of the Chrysotrinklinos was an important court functionary associated with the ceremonies held in the ‘Golden Hall’, the banqueting chamber of the Great



imperial *notarios*, *krites* of the Hippodrome and [of] Chaldia and Derzene<sup>5</sup> and another(?) Leo Promontenos, *patrikios*, *anthypatos* and *vestarches* c. 1040–1070.<sup>6</sup> John Promountenos, *protospatharios*, *mystographos*, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon logothesion*, *krites* of the Hippodrome and of the Cyclades Islands is recorded on a seal of the same period.<sup>7</sup> A Constantine Promountenos is variously recorded on seals as *hypatos* and *krites* of Charsianon (c. 1050), as *vestarches* and *krites* of the *velon* and the Armeniakon theme 1050–1065, as *vestarches*, *krites* of the *velon* and *praitor* of the Boukellarion theme 1055–70, as *magistros* or *vestarches*, *krites* of the *velon* and of the Anatolikon theme 1060–1070 and as *magistros* and *vestes*, *krites* of the *velon* and of the Thrakesion theme 1070–1080.<sup>8</sup> John Promountenos was *vestes*, *krites* of the *velon*, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* and *megas kourator* of *ta Eleutheriou* between 1060 and 1090.<sup>9</sup> George Promountenos was *logothetes* of the *genikon* in the second half of the

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Palace in Constantinople, see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 455–6.

<sup>5</sup> The *kritai* (judges) were both judicial and administrative officials, but the judges of the Hippodrome formed part of a professionally manned court (possibly of appeal) in Constantinople. Leo Promountenos also held the post of *krites* in two themes in Eastern Anatolia: Chaldia (which possibly already existed as a theme in the early ninth century) and neighbouring Derzene (known as a theme from the tenth century onwards). See N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 349 and 354 (Chaldia); 358 (Derzene).

<sup>6</sup> All court titles. For the *patrikios*, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1600; for the *anthypatos*, *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 111 and the *vestarches*, *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2162.

<sup>7</sup> As well as his court rank of *protospatharios* (see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1748), John held a number of judicial and fiscal posts. He was a thematic judge of the Cyclades theme (created after 949, see Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 361) as well as of the Hippodrome (see n. 5). The *mystographos* (see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1431–2 under *mystikos*), was a highly placed court official who had both notarial and judicial functions; the *logothesion* ('bureau') of the *genikon* dealt with the assessment of land and other tax matters (see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 829–30).

<sup>8</sup> The editors of *PBW* consider that these seals all belong to the same man. If so, they may reflect his *cursus honorum* through the ranks of the provincial *kritai* (by the eleventh century the chief civil administrators) as well as his membership of the court of the *velon* in Constantinople, possibly the highest court in Byzantium (see *ODB*, vol. 3, under *velum*). For the court ranks of *magistros*, *hypatos*, *vestes* and *vestarches*, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1267 (*magistros*), *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 963–4 (*hypatos*), *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2162–3 (*vestes*) and n. 6 above (*vestarches*). Charsianon became a theme in the mid-eighth century; Armeniakon in the early seventh century; Boukellarion in the mid-eighth century; Anatolikon in the mid-seventh century and Thrakesion in the early eighth century. These themes, all in Western Asia Minor, were in the first seven in terms of the order of court precedence. For their officials, see Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 348. *Praitor* was often used as a synonym for *krites*, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1710.

<sup>9</sup> See nn. 6 and 7. The *megas kourator* of *ta Eleutheriou* administered the imperial palace and private property *ta Eleutheriou* constructed on lands reclaimed from the sea by the partial filling in of the Port *ton Eleutherion* in Constantinople. Since, according to Oikonomidès, *Listes de préséance*, p. 318, this title was combined with that of *kourator* of the Mangana (another private

eleventh century and a homonym, the *protoproedros* George Promoundenos is recorded on a seal dating to c. 1066–1100.<sup>10</sup> Written sources provide a little more evidence as two members of the family, George and Constantine, are attested in May 1088 as signatories to an Act concerning the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos.<sup>11</sup>

Possibly the earliest surviving seal for a member of the Kataphloros/Kataphloron family, that of the imperial *spatharios* Theodore Kataphloros, has been dated to 1000–1100, that of Michael Kataphloros *spatharokandidatos* to 1000–1050 and that of another(?) Michael, imperial *kourator* of Mantzikert and ‘Inner Iberia’, to 1025–50.<sup>12</sup> Gregory Kataphloros, *sebastophoros* and *gerotrophos*, is recorded in c. 1050;<sup>13</sup> Niketas *ho tou* Kataphloron, *spatharokandidatos* and *ek prosopou* of Thrakesion for the cavalry(?), is dated to 1000–1100.<sup>14</sup> John Kataphloros, *hypatos*, imperial *notarios* and *basilikos anthropolos*, is recorded in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>15</sup> Michael Kataphloros, *spatharokandidatos* and *strategos* of Cherson, is found on seals (earlier thought to be of the tenth

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imperial property in Constantinople) by Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), this seal might perhaps have to be re-dated to the first half of the eleventh century.

<sup>10</sup> See n. 7 for the *logothesion* of the *genikon* of which the *logothetes* was the head. The high-ranking court titles of *proedros* and *protoproedros* were widely granted in the eleventh century, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1727 (under *proedros*).

<sup>11</sup> See *BEMΠ*, I, p. 345, ll. 286 and 291 (1088). George Promoundinos was *magistros*, *krites* of the *velon*, and *epi tou basilikes sakelles*; Constantine Promoundinos was *hypatos*, and imperial *notarios* of the *sakelle*. By the eleventh century, the *sakellion* or *sakelle* was the bureau in which the inventory of imperial monasteries and their lands was kept (see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1829–30, under *sakellion*). The *epi tou sakelliou* (or *ho epi sakelliou*), in this case George Promoundinos, was its head. Constantine Promoundinos was an official in the same bureau. For the court ranks of *hypatos* and *magistros*, see n. 8.

<sup>12</sup> For the rank of *spatharios*, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1935–6 and for *spatharokandidatos*, n. 3. The *kourator* of Mantzikert and ‘Inner Iberia’ managed the imperial properties (*kouratoreia*) in these regions of Eastern Anatolia, see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1155–6.

<sup>13</sup> The *sebastophoros* was a court title, possibly associated with the carrying of the emperor’s banner (see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1862). The post of *gerotrophos* may have been that of the overseer of an old people’s home financed by the state, see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 848–9 (under *gerokomos*).

<sup>14</sup> For the rank of *spatharokandidatos*, see n. 3, above. An *ek prosopou* was a representative of a higher official, in this case probably the *strategos* of the theme of Thrakesion. Though the reading is not certain, Niketas Kataphloron may have had some military responsibility, perhaps for raising or deploying cavalry forces in the theme.

<sup>15</sup> For the court dignity of *hypatos*, see n. 8, above. *Notarioi* (see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1495 under *notary*) could belong to any administrative bureau. Jean-Claude Cheynet has suggested that the term *basilikos anthropolos* took on a new meaning at the end of the eleventh century. Rather than designating civilian officials of relatively low rank (see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 266), it became a free-standing title which could replace any other and indicated membership of the immediate imperial

century) dated by W. Seibt to c. 1050–1075<sup>16</sup> as is Michael(?) *ho* Kataphlorou, *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou* and *mysolektes*.<sup>17</sup> The seals of two further Michael Kataphloroi, without rank or office, are datable to 1025–1050 and 1050–1100 respectively and that of a Nicholas Kataphloros, *asekretis*, to c. 1100–1200.<sup>18</sup> Textual evidence provides mentions of a Kataphloron, an imperial official active in Mesopotamia in the late 1030s,<sup>19</sup> and of John Kataphloron who was *anagrapheus* of the theme of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike in 1079 and appears in documents from the archives of the monasteries of the Lavra and Docheiariou on Mount Athos.<sup>20</sup>

A survey of this prosopographical material reveals that the members of the ‘Promotenos’ family were generally civilian officials, often with a judicial or financial charge, whereas the ‘Kataphloron’ family also had members active in the military administration of the provinces. It is interesting to note that John Kataphloron was *anagrapheus* of the theme of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike, where the Monastery of the Evergetis possessed estates, but this is the only geographical connection that can at present be made between any of these officials and the monastery, and it is a very tenuous one. We have no means of knowing which (or how many) members of the Promotenos or Kataphloron families were associated with the Evergetis Monastery. Suffice it to say that both were amongst the leading families of the eleventh century, as was that of the monk *kyr* Anthony. The Monastery of the Evergetis, therefore, clearly had an important and influential group of patrons by the end of the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup>

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circle. See J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 9, Paris, 1990), pp. 296–7 and n. 73 for John Kataphloros.

<sup>16</sup> For the court rank of *spatharokandidatos*, see n. 3. Michael was the military governor (*strategos*, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1964) of the theme of Cherson (or Klimata) in the Southern Crimea, established in the early ninth century, see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 418–19.

<sup>17</sup> For the court post of *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, see n. 4. The *mysolektes* was a legal official, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1432 (under *mystikos*).

<sup>18</sup> The *asekretis* was a high-ranking imperial secretary, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 204.

<sup>19</sup> See Michael Psellos, *Letter 180*, in K.N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols (Venice-Paris, 1872–94, repr. Athens, 1971), vol. 5, p. 459. Could this have been Michael Kataphloron, *kourator* of Mantzikert and of ‘Inner Iberia’, regions which might be described in literary terms as ‘Mesopotamia’?

<sup>20</sup> See *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 39 (1079) and *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (Archives de l’Athos, 13, Paris, 1984), no. 2 (1089) which refers to his actions ten years earlier. The *anagrapheus* was a senior tax official, particularly charged with the checking and revision of land cadasters, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>21</sup> Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 201, n. 12, notes the concentration of civil posts in the eleventh century in the hands of a few families, including the Promountenoi and Kataphloroi.

## Appendix 6

# Later Documents Concerning the Evergetis

### Greek Documents

*A. Theodore Balsamon (c. 1130 – after 1195), Commentary on the Council of Carthage (419), c. 6<sup>1</sup>*

For that reason a synodical ruling of the most holy patriarch, *kyr* Theodosios,<sup>2</sup> was made as a result of a petition on the part of the revered Monastery of the Evergetis, that since the *typikon* of the monastery lays it down, its current *begoumenos* should hear the *logismoi* of the monks, but it is not permitted for one unpriested to hear *logismoi* [and] of necessity it follows that the *kathegoumenos* should be a priest.<sup>3</sup>

*B. Letter of Nicholas Mesarites (c. 1163/4 – after 1214), c. 1208<sup>4</sup>*

The account of his journey given by Nicholas Mesarites to the monks of the Evergetis monastery at Constantinople.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Greek text in RP, vol. 3, pp. 311–12. For Theodore Balsamon the celebrated canonist, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes (1178–83). The petition cannot be more precisely dated. See Darrouzès (ed.), *Regestes*, fasc. 3, no. 1159.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the monks asked the Patriarch for his ruling indicates that the *begoumenos* at the time was not a priest and therefore it was difficult (if not impossible) to obey the instruction in *Hypotyposis*, ch. 15, pp. 184–5, that they should only disclose their *logismoi* to him. It is interesting that Balsamon refers to the *Hypotyposis* by the generic term of *typikon*.

<sup>4</sup> *Lacunae* in the text are marked ..... For the Greek text, see Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, Part II, 3, pp. 35–46. A partial French trans. can be found in V. Kravari, 'Evocations médiévales', in Geyer and Lefort (eds), *La Bithynie au moyen âge*, 65–98, pp. 84–8.

<sup>5</sup> Although only referring to one letter in its title, in this document Nicholas Mesarites in fact recounts two journeys to Nicaea. There is some disagreement amongst scholars about which letter comes first; C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1996), pp. 59–60, inverts the order that, following Kravari, we translate here. The first journey (according to Kravari), in the autumn of 1207, was to inform the Emperor Theodore Laskaris about discussions on the possible union of the Orthodox and Latin churches; the second, in 1208 to attend the enthronement of the Patriarch Michael IV Autoreianos (20 March, 1208), for whom see *ODB*,

Letter of the deacon most beloved of God and *referendarios* Nicholas Mesarites sent to the most all-saintly *kathegoumenos* and most saintly monks of the revered Monastery of the Evergetis, describing all that befell him as he departed for Nicaea, and also all that was done at the installation of the Patriarch of Constantinople and his anointing with holy oil, up until his [Nicholas] gaining the seal [of appointment] of the office of *referendarios* from the most holy Patriarch *kyr* Michael Autoreianos and also his installation for upkeep in the *metochion* of the patriarchal monastery called Anolakkoi, which is situated in the *kastron* of Nicaea and dedicated to Christ of Bolenos.<sup>6</sup>

First journey (Autumn 1207):

May your holy community quickly bring me help, fathers and brothers, for until now I have not had in my hand a writing reed, I have not set my swiftly writing hands to a note nor my fingers to letters, these letters announcing to your holiness how matters turned out for us when we got ourselves ready for the [journey] to Nicaea, I whom you gathered up when I once lost my way, whom you filled when considerably hungry, whom you clothed discreetly, and then, when you had armed [me] through your eager and holy entreaties, sent me directly to Nicaea, the youthful and splendid ruler among cities.<sup>7</sup> Yes, and thereby a justified censure will crush me, O holy band of Nazirites<sup>8</sup>, and you will perhaps judge me on the charge of ingratitude – not unreasonably – as inconsiderate. But yet I know that you are sympathetic, kind-hearted, cheerful and approachable, accepting the one who comes in repentance and not rejecting the one who reforms. For your teacher, he who has the same name as great Paul,

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vol. 2, p. 1365 and the coronation of Theodore Laskaris (see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2040–2041). It was after this that Mesarites was created patriarchal *referendarios* and subsequently Metropolitan of Ephesus, see Kravari, 'Evocations médiévales', p. 84. For Mesarites' career, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1346 and for the post of *referendarios*, a liaison officer between the patriarch and the imperial court, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1778. For his writing, see Kazhdan with Franklin, 'Nicephorus Chrysoberges and Nicholas Mesarites'. His account of his travels in Bithynia is discussed in C. Galatariotou, 'Travel and Perception in Byzantium', *DOP*, 47 (1993), 221–41.

<sup>6</sup> See Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 111 (Anolakkoi) and 125 (its *metochion* of Christ of Bolenos in Nicaea).

<sup>7</sup> It is not clear what the nature of Mesarites' connection with the Evergetis actually was, but it seems to have been close, and was presumably begun (or continued) when he was *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, an important position in the secular church, for which see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1909–10. It says much for the intellectual sophistication of the *begoumenos* and monks of the house at the beginning of the thirteenth century that Mesarites should direct this letter to them, written, as it is, in a high style and 'plein d'ironie, nourri d'aristotélisme et d'un culture médicale', see Kravari, 'Evocations', p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> Mesarites here refers to monks by the name of a Jewish ascetic sect, see Num. 6:1–21.

a chosen instrument,<sup>9</sup> and the select community under him, I am convinced, will not thrust away one asking for pardon, but will look more graciously on me reaching you rather leisurely by the slowness of the letter. For my very laborious service prevented me finishing what for a long time I have been eager [to do]. So pardon me, you most saintly men, for I am not excessively forgetful, nor unmindful, and I do not shrink from telling the truth. For if I forget Evergetis, may my right hand forget me, if I am unmindful of your holy company, may my tongue cleave to my throat.<sup>10</sup> As a result, I have now come to repay my debt and at the same time to fulfil my own [intention]. Let me say that my desire for you, which is this, is that I commit to writing what happened to me right from the beginning and that you hear the truth of what has been accomplished.

2. It was just after midday when we ended [the first stage] of the voyage from the acropolis and escaped that fearful and rushing deluge of streams snorting like some barbaric and wild thing which was suitably named, I would say, as it is and became what it had been previously named, like some furious raid of barbarians;<sup>11</sup> then late in the afternoon we became entangled in the grip of pirates somewhere very near the Monastery of Rufinus.<sup>12</sup> The one who spoke the language of the common people knew to call the place *Modios*, either because of the circular and hollow nature of the place – for the shape of the sea is drawn in some such way as that – or because those going through are encompassed by men lying in wait there as though in a hollow and enclosed [place] and do not sail through without torment until the traders passing through pay something of what they are carrying to those sitting hidden away in either the bay or the *Modios*.<sup>13</sup> I am clearly hesitating how I should name this [place], for I am neither of those who engage in trade nor of those who strike the surface of the sea.<sup>14</sup> One thing I know is how I observed there that a boat with many oars had darted out unforeseen from those useless rocks that had been brought together and lay

<sup>9</sup> Acts 9:15. An obvious reference to Paul Evergetinos.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ps. 136:5f [137:5f].

<sup>11</sup> Mesarites set out from the harbour of Bosporion, at the foot of the 'acropolis' (i.e. the highest point) of Constantinople and then headed into the rough waters of the Bosphoros towards the Asiatic shore, see Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, p. 36, n. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Probably a reference to the Monastery of St Hypatios, in the district of Rhouphinianai in Chalcedon, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1814 and Janin, *Grands centres*, pp. 38–40. Although placed under Cistercian control after 1204, this house still had Greek monks in it until c. 1215; a similar situation to that pertaining in the Evergetis.

<sup>13</sup> The word *modios* usually refers to a measure, either liquid or solid, thus the reference to a 'circular or hollow place' might be to the containers in which *modioi* of goods were measured out. There is also possible reference to the common expression of dues at 'so many *modioi*' per total weight or volume.

<sup>14</sup> A poetical phrase for 'rowers'.



alongside the harbour and was slicing through the surface of the sea, as if it were a blood-red snake bringing close its deadly [poison] or like a flash of lightning shooting across and burning up what met it. Fear and distraction seized everyone and no one could speak to the one next him, for all had been terrified at once.<sup>15</sup> For that boat was not only carrying strong oarsmen with gorgon glares but also swordsmen and spearmen and guards up above carrying bows, not the sort of bows that are drawn by men with good, broad and strong hands, stretching out a forearm and an upper arm in an upright position as it brings together the fingers to the wrist and the very middle fastening of the bow, bending to itself the notched arrows through the bowstring and drawing the shaft with the bowstring at the breast, but such as a barbarian mind with bloody breath contrived. They are made of a strong piece of wood without bone or sinew, which is relaxed when not directed at a target. It [the wood] is stretched with feet and hands, and the bow string is not stretched sinew but tightly twisted linen stretched around the attached bone to another wooden support on which hangs an iron bar which is operated after aiming at a target. It does deadly things once he who aims casts the undeflectable spike of death.<sup>16</sup>

3. What do you think I was thinking, O holy band of Nazirites, when such men with their sharp points surrounded us? Was it not to keep hidden, was it not to cower, was it not to hide myself in the hollow of the boat, was it not to pray that a wild wave from somewhere would rise up against the ship to inundate us or a wide stretch of sea gape open and gulp us down as we trembled rather than we should fall into the hands of the pirates? How positive, I think, would be the answer you would utter and in no way negative! After those men who rejoice in blood and are accursed had fallen upon us in such an unforeseen manner, we were searched rather eagerly. But when our possessions were clearly seen to be unsuspecting – for neither silver nor gold had been stored in our pouches – they went for another [kind of] close examination, for they began to grope our rumps and seats and calves and genitals, then the boat itself also, after we had got out of it without our half-boots and our very tunics. And when they were again unsuccessful in what they were yearning for, they began to gaze at everyone grimly since weary with vain [efforts] they wished to make some gain from us as the expression on those pirate faces gave us to understand. In one way the facial condition was like one smiling, but in another it was full of hardness and unpleasantness. When this became plain to us, setting aside our cowardliness we hastened to speak to them peaceably. They gladly offered right

<sup>15</sup> Reading ἐξαντῆς for ἐξ αὐτῆς of the printed text.

<sup>16</sup> A description of the Byzantine crossbow (*tzangra* or *tzagra*). The translation of the previous three sentences is taken from M.C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 332.



hands to us and gazed at our hands rather inquisitively to see if they spotted anywhere some jangling bits of silver or gold. But when they began to see things that were pleasing – for quicker than a word a ‘subscription’ had been hastily improvised – those who a short time before had been harsh and carrying tense features were now immediately happy and pleasant [and] were enjoining us very eagerly to clamber on board the boat and were urging the captain of the vessel to unfurl the sail on the left hand side.

4. One of those getting on board, one with filthy hair, poor in his clothes, a vagabond by profession, with a pouch slung over his shoulder and across his chest, carrying his whole house with him, sped ahead of the others on to the boat and grabbed hold of the way up – for he wanted to sit down before the others on a safe seat or even on a raised one. Because of the barbarity of his speech and besides seeming to be a witty and very loquacious person, abusing those like us of having been banished at some time, being hampered by some other person and him completely practised in the ways of a vagabond – for a vagabond is envious of a vagabond as also a beggar of a beggar – he slipped headfirst into the sea. The wretch would have perished having gulped down a great amount of salt water had not one of those who had appeared to us first leapt [on board] at once like a madman – for he was clothed just in his linen tunic – and dived into the sea and saved the hapless man from danger. When he was brought up, we set him at the stern emptying out the great amount of salt water which he had heaped up in the hollowness of his mind and which lately he had also swallowed as a result of nausea.

5. Thus he vomited up a lot of sea water while we ran with a fair wind and came to harbour in Pylai.<sup>17</sup> This is the beginning of Asia and in our eyes like an entrance to our paradise established somehow in the East, which gives us life and hope, and which was given to us by God *the father of lights, a perfect gift from above*.<sup>18</sup> For that reason also, in my opinion, it is called Pylai.<sup>19</sup> This small town is well fortified and is strong in many ways, keeping away those who cast longing eyes too boldly across the interior of the East<sup>20</sup> and repelling those who rush too violently against these gates.<sup>21</sup> Dropping anchor then at this town during the night and disembarking from the ship we slept for a short time upon the sand. At dawn, some traders began searching there to see if they might meet anyone

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<sup>17</sup> Modern Yalova on the eastern shore of the Sea of Marmara. It was held by the Laskarid rulers of Nicaea as their main port, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1760.

<sup>18</sup> Jam. 1:17. A reference to the Empire of Nicaea, set up by the Byzantines after the loss of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204.

<sup>19</sup> *Pylai* is Greek for ‘the gates’; in this case ‘the gates of Paradise’.

<sup>20</sup> The Turks.

<sup>21</sup> The Latins.

wishing to go to the metropolis of the Nicaeans, for they were keen not to return home without payment, with unloaded mules and empty loads. So at the second cockcrow they began calling out in the way that the most noisy cockerels do and began rousing us, with sleep rudely broken, from the sand and our bedrolls. They agreed the hiring price, the mules were beside us, the packsaddles were on them and we were on [the packsaddles].

6. We began to go at a run towards Nicaea, the city of victory,<sup>22</sup> with the attendants coming along behind us, men smelling of yesterday's wine-drinking and displaying bloodshot eyes, full of sweet wine, talking in a disjointed and lisping manner, for it is the custom for traders passing the night without sleeping to drink undiluted wine at dawn. They too were showering us with much idle talk if they saw us leaning a little from our seat to the right or left, for sitting on the packsaddles without leaning caused us very great weariness and inconvenience. For even if we had been mounted on packsaddles on some donkeys, in theory to rest, we would have been no less weary on them too, suffering pain in our testicles and buttocks. What do you think we were saying when we were being drenched in insults from the attendants as they poured them on us like a furious cloudburst, and when they threatened us as they shook their staffs at us, [fearing] lest the spines and vertebrae of the mules would be wounded as a result of our rather frequent turning about this way and that, and when we were being bombarded by thick hailstones like rocks from the heavens and struck in the face by a heavy snowfall? What do you think we were saying when we were creeping upwards to the heavens and rushing downwards to the abysses like cylinders thrown from the shoulders, when we were being whipped as it were by the overhanging trees and thrashed by the branches, when we were riding along through that cloud dark as smoke and when we were winding our impenetrable way through the spiralling twists of the mountains, labyrinthine and full of caverns?

7. So then after thus spending the day, we came to the Castle of *kȳr* George<sup>23</sup> as the evening stars were beginning to twinkle, where we found a place to recline and a house and a fire, and a bed and bedclothes, and bread and wine and meat and salted fish. Then we began to be distressed because the great amount of smoke there was causing our eyes to smart. For it was whirling around on itself and going up with no way to escape, choking because there was no through draught anywhere in the house. On this account our nostrils were filled with smoke, our brains became fuddled and the triple membranes of our eyes became

<sup>22</sup> A play on the words '*nikopolis*/Nicaea'. *Nike* is the Greek for victory and *polis* for city.

<sup>23</sup> The site of the Castle of *kȳr* George (nr. modern-day Boyalica on the north shore of the Lake of Iznik) has not been found, see J. Lefort, 'Les grandes routes médiévales', in Geyer and Lefort (eds), *La Bithynie au moyen âge*, 461–72, p. 465 and n. 22.

irritated and began to sting, our senses were impaired and our joints disturbed. I, stretched out on a bed, and as a result of that evil plight, awake for the entire course of the night, kept complaining about it and grumbling about how long it was and how drawn out. How many times in the middle of the night was I up observing the Pleiades, Arcturus, the evening star, the garland of Ariadne, Orion and the Dog Star<sup>24</sup> and Orion's belt, Serpens itself, both hidden Ara and Procyon rising with them! How many times did I try to get my servant up out of his jumbled sorry plight from the chaff-fed ashes? So that fear would rouse him and keep him awake, how many times did I bang on the mule's saddle? But he, overcome by a drunken headache, was in an insensible state despite being kicked many times; at one point he began stringing together words in a dream and spoke not understanding any of them. They were the reflection of things that had happened during the day: words of correction for the mules as they were sliding on the rocks or even as they were sinking in holes. Frenzied and disjointed things also were heard from this man's mouth, inarticulate things like many that a man is accustomed to produce during the night when weighed down by wine and weariness and exhausted by both.

8. After he woke up and rubbed the sleep from his eyes, at once he wanted to eat meat and gulp down wine seasoned with pepper, and there was not a moment to lose. For by means of a linen thread and some sticks a fire was lit at once from the hot embers hidden in the ashes, and a clay pot full of mixed or unmixed wine was set on an iron tripod. A table was also improvised for that inveterate glutton, for in his left hand was meat and in his right barley-bread and a knife, slicing the meat and bread into thin pieces and sending easily digested food to the gullet. His incisors toiled away together on this and the canines smote together, also the molars chewed away and ground down the food. Thus can artificial instruments and the tools of the body act together in their natural functions. He feasted rather gluttonously like that and breathlessly swallowed the unmixed wine from a very deep cup, whereas I, chilled by that day-long icy cold and blocked up by the evening's smoke, was queasy and in no mood for food. My temples were constantly throbbing, my respiratory tubes were restricted and my breathing was made difficult by the humours flowing through the isthmus-like bones of my nose and sometimes a most unintelligible sound was squeezed through my nostrils.<sup>25</sup>

9. Nevertheless, though being thus alarmed and suffering terribly, I put my clothes in the packsaddles and exerted control over the mule for the second time, striking it with a whip to ride as quickly as possible along the route to Nicaea.

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<sup>24</sup> Sirius.

<sup>25</sup> Mesarites is showing off his medical vocabulary.

When I whipped it for the third time, the wretched attendant uttered the direst curses. And this is what he said: 'Why did you strike my mule for the third time just now? And why are you hurrying on this pointless [journey], you scornful and contemptuous man? The sun is not yet over the eastern horizon, has not yet lit up the peaks of the mountains, has not yet leaped over the ocean's rising vapours and waters, has not yet even reached the middle part of the day when it is time for lunch and men eat bread and drink red wine and devour fish and meat, vegetables and pulses. Perhaps you are already hungry and thirsty, exactly like a hungry glutton and a wine-lover? Or have you forgotten that, today, the first and Lord's [day] of the seven weekdays is dawning, on which it is customary to take part in churches in the divine consecration of the precious gifts of Christ on the holy table? So then check the rein, hold the mule back from going in haste too spiritedly, beating on the mule with your staff like that and making him frequently stumble like those going to a dinner. Don't you see how I'm gasping for breath a lot now and my ankles are weighed down and my knees and joints and soles and heels and the sinews of my calves, and my very ankle joints and the whole foot with the leg bone? Are you not afraid that if the mule sinks down you will fall headlong to the ground and your face will be smashed, the setting of your teeth will be shattered and they will leap out of their sockets, and your tongue will be gnawed into bits by your molars and minced by the canines and cut up by the incisors that remain, your palate will feel pain in fellow-feeling, and not an initial pain as when it is suddenly dashed against your lower jaw, your lips will be stained with blood and the whole condition of your face will be rendered unserviceable, perhaps your clothing being rolled in the mud will also become sodden like a marsh and, if that were to happen, no one will be found to drag you up out of the slimy mud? And if you come to a swirling river without a bridge, impassable and not to be crossed in any other way except when a horse's hooves and ankles are immersed in it, and his knees with them and his belly and flanks and backbone, while rounded boulders are being swept along touching the bottom in its ungovernable rush, and [if] the feet of the mules automatically, or by chance, step on these stones, will they not totter at once and fall, unable to right themselves? What will you do when you are sitting on her, you miserable man? Will you not cry out? Will you not look for help? But if you are unseated from her and fall down in the water on your back or on your stomach, who will set you to rights? See to it that you do not cause us trouble by exposing yourself to dangers. Also, if you stray from the direct route and run into a brigand, will you not be plundered without being able to do anything about it? For who will stretch out a helping hand to you when you are seeing death before your very eyes? Or who will cover you up with earth when you are dead? Therefore, spur

the mule on gently so that you do not die before your time and be gathered like an unripe olive.’

10. As the attendant was reeling off such things to me, I was astonished how the drunk was both acquainted with the Scriptures and sympathetic and compassionate towards the travellers with us. If I wanted, therefore, to bring forward objections, the relevance and good sense of this man’s words did not allow me to refute him. If I decided to be silent, he would utter further insolence to me. If I wished to cut off his rush of speech, the truth would throttle me and my conscience would curb me. So, in a nutshell, I showed no irritation on any subject and kept quiet, taking on a lofty air, and I continued the remainder of the journey without responding to him, intoning the holy phrases with which David, keeping vigil during the night, praised and honoured the Creator of all things and proclaimed his divinity when day had fully come, also the chants of the Third Hour and the Sixth Hour, those about the judgement against Emmanuel by those who crucified him and the others about the ascent onto the Cross of the One who was emptied for our sake.<sup>26</sup>

11. So then after the recitation of divine texts was finished [we] caught sight of the battlements and towers of Nicaea ..... from afar and they were gleaming white like snow, reverence gripped me and.....

Second Journey (Before March 20, 1208):

.....[my] face I did not want to be ..... For I feared that at some point I would be detected and seized by those who had without mercy to our plight got on board and after condemning me would put me in a very deep pit and sunless imprisonment. For that reason I summoned someone of our party,<sup>27</sup> a relative of mine by blood, to an unusual and completely unfrequented place where I made known the emperor’s order and, as was right, stated clearly the rest of the plan so that he might speak of these things into the ears of Levites<sup>28</sup> like ourselves and not in foreign houses.<sup>29</sup> He was full of delight, but forgetting the agreement with me and going at once to the Monastery of the Pantokrator wished to reveal the conspiracy, not in a corner but clearly, conspicuously and very plainly.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Phil 2:7.

<sup>27</sup> i.e. a Greek.

<sup>28</sup> The Levites were the Jewish tribe which had particular religious responsibilities; Mesarites means priests or monks here.

<sup>29</sup> A reference to the residences of the ‘Latins’, or possibly churches and monasteries occupied by them.

<sup>30</sup> The Monastery of Christ Pantokrator (Zeyrek Kilise Camii) was founded by John II Komnenos in c. 1136, see *PantokratorTyp*, pp. 725–6 and *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1754–5. After 1204 it

But some foreigner, an Italian up to no good, noticing the gathering brought together in the same place, briefly speaking in Greek, noiselessly and as though on tiptoe drew near to them and got to know all that was not, we considered, to be brought to light. He then seized the letter, first twisting the hand of the one who was holding it, and at once went to the *podestà* of the Venetians who had authority over the Venetian population.<sup>31</sup>

The matter came to my hearing from Brachnos, the most esteemed among doctors, who was having lunch with us, and immediately bidding farewell to cup and bread, nuts and figs – for with such things food had been improvised for us – I got up from the table and in a troubled state went away to the Monastery of Peribleptos,<sup>32</sup> wishing to pull myself together for a while. But there I was browbeaten by the one who long ago had once pretended to be my friend, being no different from those with eyes of a different colour, a certain Nazirite [called] James, who in mind and manner is very malicious and wicked, and I was chased out so that he would not suffer the terrible fate that had been ordained.<sup>33</sup>

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came under Venetian control as it was in a part of Constantinople ceded to them. They used it to store relics taken from other churches, including the famous icon of the Virgin *Hodegetria* taken from Hagia Sophia. It is not clear whether Greek monks remained there; the fact that Mesarites sent his relative to speak to fellow Orthodox there, would indicate that they did. But the fact that he was overheard by an 'Italian' who reported to the Venetians, indicates that Latins were frequently to be found in this monastery. Indeed, it was probably the residence of the Venetian *podestà* (see n. 31, below), see D. Jacoby, 'The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople (1204–1261)', in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2001), 277–97, pp. 290–292.

<sup>31</sup> Mesarites interestingly transliterates as '*potestates*' the title of *podestà* (literally 'power') of the Venetians in Constantinople, first heard of in 1205, when Marino Zeno was elected to the post. Subsequently, the *podestà* was appointed by the Doge in Venice; in 1207 the post was held by Ottaviano Quirino, see D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 153–5.

<sup>32</sup> For the Monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos (Sulumanastir) in the SW quarter of Constantinople, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1629. The fact that Mesarites intended to take a breather there in 1208 might suggest that it had not yet been populated with Latin monks as it was some time after 1206, when it was made over to the Benedictine Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.

<sup>33</sup> For the term Nazirite, see n. 8, above. The allusion to 'people with eyes of a different colour' is puzzling. The word *heterophthalmos* is rare, though was used by the twelfth-century poet John Tzetzes, see W. Trapp *et al.*, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (Vienna, 1994). Having eyes of a different colour was considered, in earlier times at least, to be the mark of someone not to be trusted or, indeed of a heretic, see W. Brandes, 'Anastasios "Ο ΔΙΚΟΠΟΣ": Endzeiterwartung und Kaiserkritik in Byzanz um 500 N Chr', *BZ*, 90 (1997), 24–63. Our thanks to Elizabeth Jeffreys for this reference. To judge by the context here, the monk James, by whom Mesarites hoped to be helped because of an old friendship, proved to be untrustworthy. He was afraid, perhaps, of being punished by his *hegoumenos*, or, by the Venetian authorities for consorting with Greeks who

I didn't put up any resistance in any way whatsoever and went down to the beach of Psammadion<sup>34</sup> and boarding a boat crossed over to the metropolis of the Chalcedonians, fearful, trembling and alarmed lest I be recognised by the foreigners and undergo unbearable things.<sup>35</sup> From there travelling on foot to the Monastery of Rufinus<sup>36</sup> and arriving at lamp-lighting time I lodged there, running with much sweat, panting heavily, and with the crook of my finger slinging the sweat from my forehead a long distance, weak in the knees, calves, and ankles. After getting my fill of food and wine there and lying down to sleep, about the second cockcrow the *semantron* was struck and I got up from bed, though sleep was bidding me to sleep on. But fear of the foreigners was undermining that idea and did not allow me to go back to sleep. Troubled, I got up and shook the sleep out of my eyes and said what I usually do in praise to God. While it was [still] night I took to the road again on foot and as the sun was lighting up the east I reached the harbour in Nossiai,<sup>37</sup> having by chance strayed off the well trodden and smooth path like a ship without a helmsman.

Then after sitting down here I saw a ship under its helmsman ..... carrying earthenware wine jars and wood shavings, and ..... for I suspected that either the boat was carrying pirates ..... As they were coming towards the shore their cries along with the excessive length of their hair confirmed that they were foreign.<sup>38</sup> I rejoiced and conversed with them in a peaceful manner. They, realising that I wished to get on board with them, were bidding me to get up on to the stern with no regret or suspicion. After running with a fair wind, round about the middle of the day we put into the port of Rhitzion<sup>39</sup> and there we had great pleasure in eating. Setting out from there we crossed over to Neakomis<sup>40</sup> on the

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were clearly plotting something. The Monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos was in a quarter of Constantinople granted to the Venetians, see Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, pp. 218–22.

<sup>34</sup> Mesarites spells this place 'Psammadion' rather than the more usual 'Psamathia'. For the Psamathia quarter in the south-western corner of Constantinople, see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1754.

<sup>35</sup> Mesarites here describes crossing the Bosphoros to Chalcedon (Kadiköy), see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 403–4; he was clearly in fear of the Latin authorities in Constantinople.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 12, above.

<sup>37</sup> Location unknown, but probably southwards of Chalcedon along the coast. It may have been near the Monastery of Nosiai, built in the tenth century by the Emperor Leo VI for his eunuch favourite Constantine the Paphlagonian and associated in the twelfth century with the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. See Janin, *Grands centres*, p. 58 and S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912)* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1997), pp. 200–201.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. Latins.

<sup>39</sup> Present-day Darica, on the north coast of the Gulf of Nicomedia, see Kravari, 'Evocations médiévales', p. 87, n. 137.

<sup>40</sup> The site of Neakomis or Nea Kome is not precisely known, but it must have been on the southern shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia, see J. Lefort, 'Les communications entre Constantinople



opposite side, on the sea shore, preserving but faint indications of a city with most of it, if not all, burnt down, razed, overwhelmed and collapsed onto the ground. In this Neakomis there were no houses with stone walls, nor even ones built up with stones and plaster and roofed with beams, but they were contrived out of interwoven sticks daubed with mud and covered with reeds and rushes. About the ninth hour of the day I disembarked from the ship, lay down there on the sand and addressed my thanks to God that he had snatched me from the hand of the foreigners. I did not wish to touch food, and yet I was invited to very many times by the townspeople, but overcome by sleep I lay there snoring until evening leaning on my elbow.

After waking up and partaking of a piece of a large and heavy cooked fish, like a tuna, – for it was Saturday – and of some bread made with millet – for bread made with wheat was scarce among those townsfolk – I conversed with travellers who were conveying on mules small pickled fish packed together inside carrying-baskets so that they would not be broken up by being rubbed against one another during a lengthy journey, and I spent the whole of that night, without dozing off, on the way to Nicaea. My travelling companions were well awake and forgot their weariness by singing, but I was filled with gladness of heart, preceded and, as it were, escorted by such joyous men. But if I decided to sing the *trisagion* hymn at the top of my voice or intone the Ode of the Lord openly and render the chant clearly, I would be rebuked, mocked and in the end I would hear, ‘You most witless and ignorant of men, do you wish to sing divine phrases and chants in an alien land and among forested mountains and precipitous ravines? Don’t you know that bandits and robbers lurk here, attacking travellers out of nowhere? Let your utterance be harsh and barbarous, utter unintelligible and inarticulate cries, fill the air with shapeless eruptions, beat the horse for no reason, make your breath whistle and stretch it out for a long time, babble randomly and to no purpose, do all the things that frighten one lying in ambush and deter one up to no good.’ When I heard that, I cut out the Ode of the Lord and began to carry out hesitantly what had been ordered, for I was ignorant and found unpleasant what they were singing, not having ever learnt it.

In that way we got through the difficult parts of the road ..... and, as that night was by now galloping past and early morning on the [next] day was dawning, finding ourselves at the shore of the lake, we drew near the towers of Nicaea and at the entrance .....

*C. Gramma (Decision) of Patriarch Matthew I (1397–1402; 1403–1410) concerning a court case involving kyr [Michael] Astras and Nicholas Makrodoukas, November, 1399*<sup>41</sup>

The dearly beloved relative of my most mighty and holy emperor, *kyr* ... [Michael Synadenos] Astras, some time ago came and [thus] reported to Your Humble Servant,<sup>42</sup> ‘Since he who causes property consecrated to God to be appropriated makes himself liable to no small condemnation, [and since] I myself happened to have done this in a manner of speaking following an impulse, I am now making this known in order to make amends.’<sup>43</sup> The matter is this: I alienated in writing half of the holy and all-sacred church of the holy and glorious great martyrs, the Theodores,<sup>44</sup> near Palaiokastron in Lemnos<sup>45</sup> with some cells, that had been [previously] given and consecrated to the revered and holy monastery which is honoured in the name of our all-holy, undefiled, and most-blessed Lady, the Theotokos Evergetis,<sup>46</sup> to those who held founder’s rights (*ktetorika*

<sup>41</sup> For Patriarch Matthew I, see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1316. He also made a *Testament* in favour of the Constantinopolitan Monastery of Charsianites in 1407, see *BMFD*, vol. 4, no. 60. Only the surname ‘Astras’ is mentioned in the text. This Astras can be identified with Michael Synadenos Astras (not George Synadenos Astras, as in *BMFD*, vol. 4, p. 1494) who died c. 1400 and was the son-in-law of Anna Palaiologina (*PLP*, fasc. 9, no. 21346) and Komnenos Branas (*PLP*, fasc. 2, no. 3177), and thus linked to the imperial house, see *PLP*, fasc. 1, no. 1599. His forename emerges in other, later documents. His father, the *megas stratopedarches* of our text, was George Synadenos Astras (*PLP*, fasc. 1, no. 1598). George Synadenos Astras was *doux* of Lemnos c. 1360–1364 and died in Thessalonike pre-1366, probably in an outbreak of the Black Death. For the properties on Lemnos, see J. Haldon, ‘Limnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: ca. 1261–1453’, in A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham/Washington, DC, 1986), 161–215, see pp. 200–201 for Palaiokastron; p. 183 for the *doux* Astras (George Synadenos Astras), who, according to the scholar Demetrios Kydones, was both popular and successful. The Patriarch’s document is summarised in Darrouzès *Regestes*, vol. 1, fasc. 6, nos 3068 and 3082.

<sup>42</sup> A customary form of self-address for a churchman.

<sup>43</sup> Astras is clearly trying to regain the half of this church held by the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, by arguing that its sale – by him! – was sinful and should be reversed.

<sup>44</sup> For SS. Theodore Stratelates (‘the general’) and Theodore Teron (‘the recruit’), often associated together as dedicatees, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2047–9.

<sup>45</sup> Palaiokastron (modern Myrina) was on the western coast of the island of Lemnos, in the northern Aegean.

<sup>46</sup> As John Thomas has pointed out, the monastery concerned is ‘quite likely (though not certainly)’ our Evergetis, see *BMFD*, vol. 4, p. 1494. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos 3068 and 3082 was in no doubt that the Constantinopolitan house was concerned here. If so, then this is indication of the Evergetine links with the highest echelons of Byzantine aristocratic society in the later fourteenth century.

*diakaia*) and [the other] half of this holy church.' Having heard of this from him once, twice and three times, Your Humble Servant [i.e. the Patriarch] wrote to the island, wishing to learn about this matter and be assured which this church and its property is, how it was given away to certain people and what state it is in now.<sup>47</sup> Then the one who has founder's rights in this church, Nicholas Makrodoukas, the son-in-law of that Leo Modas who was the founder of this holy church, recently came to Your Humble Servant while he was presiding at a synod and exhibited holy and sacred edicts and ordinances stating how this church was founded and belonged by family connection to the renowned Leo Modas.<sup>48</sup> He [Nicholas] reported that, even though half of this holy church was granted to the *mezas stratopedarches*, the celebrated [George Synadenos] Astras, nevertheless it was neglected to such an extent that it was in danger of being totally destroyed and completely obliterated, since no one was in charge or taking care of it. On account of this, as the one who held half the church, in order to prevent the church being totally destroyed along with the cells that it had, he himself felt constrained to give [Michael] Astras twenty *hyperpyra* for [his] half of it.<sup>49</sup> In that way he [Nicholas] rebuilt it and cared for it, and brought a priest into it and as a result of his [actions] the church provides the obligatory praising of God without interruption and ceaseless hymnody, things which Your Humble Servant was assured also by others was the case, [as was] the fact that the church was left bereft of all care before Makrodoukas got possession of all of it. We were assured, from a letter of [Michael] Astras stating this, that its cells had been plundered.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, after this had come to light, Your Humble Servant decided and declared that since neither the monks of Evergetis nor [Michael] Astras (he who has founder's duty of care [*ktetorika pronoia*] over them) displayed any forethought for the church – and their part would have collapsed and been completely destroyed and been lost long ago, save that Nicholas Makrodoukas took care of it, rebuilt it and prepared it to have chanting – for these reasons, therefore, and not because of the twenty *hyperpyra* he put down

<sup>47</sup> See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3068, for the patriarchal letter of enquiry to Lemnos (pre-Nov. 1399). The island was of strategic importance, controlling the sea passage from Constantinople to Thessalonike; it was frequently attacked in this period by Turkish and Catalan raiders, see Haldon, 'Limnos', p. 183.

<sup>48</sup> For Nicholas Makrodoukas, see *PLP*, fasc. 7, no. 16399. He was *oikeios* (one of the household) of the Emperor c. 1400 and was the son-in-law of Leo Modas (*PLP*, fasc. 7, no. 19198) who had clearly died before Nov. 1399. Makrodoukas clearly possessed documentary evidence (*prostagma* and property titles) concerning the founding of the church by Leo Modas.

<sup>49</sup> For the *hyperpyron*, a gold coin, see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 964–5.

<sup>50</sup> Michael Astras possibly argued that it was outside raiding which had led to the dilapidation of the church.

to buy the church – since it is unlawful and contrary to the canons to alienate what has been consecrated to God – [Your Humble Servant] decided that, *only* because of his forethought towards the church and his zeal and care [for it], the aforementioned Makrodoukas should have possession of the whole of the holy church and be at all times in charge of its structure and improvement and the uninterrupted hymnody in it, and thus have all founder's rights in it; and that he should also [be able] to pass on all his [rights] to his natural male children, that is, his heirs and successors, or to whichever other man he wishes, with all those who take over this [church] after him having every responsibility to take charge of the structure of the church and its repair, [and] of the uninterrupted hymnody to God in it; and that a priest be at all times found in it, and that it should remain free-standing, holy and dedicated to God; and that the cells and all its property be unappropriated, with neither Makrodoukas himself nor any of his successors having freedom to alienate this or conceal anything out of the church away from it, since such a thing is sacrilege and a not inconsiderable sin against God. He who dares [to do] this will be driven out at once from this holy church and will have to hand over care of the church and its oversight to another, whomsoever the ecumenical patriarch at the time decides. Action therefore has been carried out in explanation and confirmation of these things and the present letter of Your Humble Servant has been handed over to the aforementioned Nicholas Makrodoukas, son-in-law of Leo Modas for safekeeping. In the year 6908. Signed in the month of November of the eighth indiction by the revered patriarchal hand.

## Latin Documents

### *A. The Donation of the Evergetis to Monte Cassino by Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna, 24 February, 1206<sup>51</sup>*

Benedict, by divine office Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna, legate of the Apostolic See,<sup>52</sup> to Roffrid our venerable brother in Christ, by the grace of God Cardinal priest of SS. Pietro and Marcellino and Abbot of Monte Cassino,<sup>53</sup> and to the community of the same, eternal greetings in the Lord.

<sup>51</sup> Latin text in Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis*, vol 2, p. 491.

<sup>52</sup> Benedict (?–1216), was appointed Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna in 1201 and Cardinal Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina in 1212. He was appointed papal legate to Constantinople after the conquest of 1204.

<sup>53</sup> Roffrid (Roffred) dell' Isola was Abbot of Monte Cassino from 9 July 1188 to his death on 30 May 1210. He was appointed Cardinal Priest of SS. Marcellino e Pietro in 1191.

Seeing that, according to the apostle,<sup>54</sup> he particularly must be chosen for the office of bishop who knows how to preside well over his own house, it is incumbent on us, weighed down by the burden of being legate in the Empire of Romania, to be on our guard with the utmost vigilance so that we prudently dispense those things that have been entrusted to us. Therefore, since it has pleased the Almighty, by His secret and inexplicable plan, to restore the Empire of Romania to the hands of the Latins and many religious have come to these parts to do good there, we think it justly right that we should confer generous *beneficia*<sup>55</sup> from the *beneficia* of this empire on the order of the most blessed Benedict, who was the first founder of the monastic order and the Father of all monks, so that the name of the most blessed Benedict, who has enlightened the West by his merits and teaching, may be proclaimed in the East.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, venerable brothers in Christ, in consideration of the devotion which we know you have to the Roman Church as though to your own mother, and so that, through you, veneration of the Roman Church may increase the more in the Empire of Romania, by the legatine authority which we discharge in the Empire of Romania, we grant the Monastery of S. Maria Virgiotis, situated less than two miles outside the city of Constantinople, with all its dependencies, rights, and properties, to you and through you to your church in the monastery of Monte Cassino, on condition, however, that the Greek monks living there are not expelled by you. Let no one in the future have the power to disturb you in the possession of the church thus granted to you by virtue of our authority by this present act. Let no one at all be allowed therefore to render this written grant and confirmation void or rashly attempt to overturn it. However, if anyone, in contravention of this, dares to make such an attempt, he should know that he will incur the wrath of God Almighty and His blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Issued in Constantinople, 24 February in the year of Our Lord 1206 and the ninth indiction.

*B. Confirmation of the Grant by Pope Honorius III, 5 May 1217*<sup>57</sup>

It is right that We should provide ready agreement to the just requests of petitioners and fulfil with attendant effect wishes that chime with the path of

<sup>54</sup> A reference to the Apostle Paul, see 1 Tim. 3:4.

<sup>55</sup> A *beneficium* was a grant or gift of land or property; in this case, the grant of a monastic house.

<sup>56</sup> A reference to St Benedict of Nursia (480–547), the founder of the monastic order which bears his name. Monte Cassino was (and is) a Benedictine house.

<sup>57</sup> Latin text in *Epistolae Honorii III* ed. Liverani, I, no. 20, p. 725. Cencio Savelli (1148–1227) reigned as Pope Honorius III (July 18 1216–March 18 1227).

reason. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, agreeing with gracious assent to your just petitions, We confirm with apostolic authority that the church of S. Maria Virgion was granted to you in pious reflection so that you might hold it justly and peaceably by the [Cardinal] Bishop of Porto of noble memory, at that time Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna and legate of the Apostolic See,<sup>58</sup> and through you to your monastery, and We strengthen [this] by the protection of this document. No person at all should be allowed, therefore, to render this written confirmation and protection void or rashly attempt to overturn it. If anyone, however, presumes to attempt this, he should know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and His blessed apostles, Peter and Paul. Issued in the Lateran, on 5 May, in the first year of our pontificate.

*C. Confirmation by Pope Honorius III, 20 May, 1217<sup>59</sup>*

Honorius, bishop [and] servant of the servants of God to [his] beloved sons, the Abbot and community at Cassino, greetings and apostolic blessing.

When what is just and honourable is sought from Us, the force of fairness as much as the order of reason demands that it should be brought to a deserved conclusion by the care of Our office. Therefore, since Benedict of noble memory, Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna, exercising his legatine office in the region of Romania, granted the monastery of S. Maria Virgiotis, situated less than two miles outside the city of Constantinople, with all its dependencies, rights and properties, by his legatine authority to you and through you to the monastery of Cassino, on condition, however, that the Greek monks living there should in no wise be expelled from there by you, just as We have noted to be fully contained fully in his original [grant], We, swayed by your just prayers [and] considering the grant itself approved as it was properly formulated, confirm it by Our apostolic authority and by virtue of this document. No person should be allowed, therefore, to render this written confirmation void or rashly attempt to overturn it. If anyone, however, presumes to attempt this, he should know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and His Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Issued at Anagni, 20 May in the first year of Our pontificate.

<sup>58</sup> Benedict of Santa Susanna, see n. 52, above.

<sup>59</sup> Latin text in Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis*, vol. 2, p. 492.

*D. Confirmation by Pope Honorius III, 31 October 1222<sup>60</sup>*

Honorius, bishop [and] servant of the servants of God, to [his] beloved sons, the Abbot and community at Cassino, greetings and apostolic blessing.

It is right that We should provide ready agreement to the just requests of petitioners and fulfil with attendant effect wishes that chime with the path of reason. Since, therefore, Our beloved son, John, Cardinal Priest of San Prassede, then [appointed] legate of the Apostolic See,<sup>61</sup> has [proposed] that the Monastery of S. Maria Virgiottis at Constantinople which Benedict, the [Cardinal] Bishop of Porto of noble memory, at that time Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna [and] legate of the Apostolic See, granted to the monastery at Cassino, be assigned to your appointed procurator and that he be placed in physical possession of the same. We, swayed by your prayers confirm by apostolic authority the monastery itself, free and exempt [from taxes], to you and through you to the Monastery of Cassino, as you occupy it justly, canonically and peacefully, and We confirm it by virtue of this document. No person should be allowed, therefore, to render this written confirmation void or rashly attempt to overturn it. If anyone, however, presumes to attempt this, he should know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul.

Issued at the Lateran, 31 October, in the seventh year of Our pontificate.

*E. Letter of Pope Honorius III to the Hegoumenos and Monks of Evergetis, 17 November 1222<sup>62</sup>*

Honorius, bishop [and] servant of the servants of God, to [his] beloved sons, the Abbot and community of the church of S. Maria Virgiotis, greetings and apostolic blessing.

How Benedict of noble memory, Cardinal Priest of Santa Susanna, legate of the Apostolic See in the region of Romania, granted your church to the Monastery of Cassino and [how] we were of a mind that his grant ought to be confirmed by apostolic authority, you clearly understand, We believe. It therefore follows that We urgently advise and encourage your community, enjoining you through an apostolic missive that, as far as those whom [our] beloved sons, the abbot and community of the aforementioned monastery have thought should

<sup>60</sup> Latin text in *Epistolae Honorii III*, ed. Liverani, I, no. 21, p. 725.

<sup>61</sup> Giovanni Colonna (?– c. 1245), was appointed Cardinal Priest of San Prassede on 18 February 1212 and was Legate to Constantinople and Syria 1222–23. He brought back to the Church of San Prassede in Rome the supposed ‘Column of the Flagellation’ of Christ from Constantinople in 1223. The relic and its dedicatory inscription are still in the church.

<sup>62</sup> Latin text in Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis*, vol. 2, p. 492 and *Accessiones*, p. 292.



be appointed to your area are concerned, receiving them properly and treating them honourably, you should obey their advice and instructions humbly and faithfully.

Issued at the Lateran, 17 November in the seventh year of Our pontificate.

*F. Letter of Pope Honorius III to the Vassals of the Evergetis, 17 November 1222*<sup>63</sup>

This letter has essentially the same text as that in E and is dated on the same day, save that the dedication is to 'his beloved sons, the vassals of the church of S. Maria de Virgiotis' and in place of 'your church' is written 'the Church of S. Maria de Virgiotis'.

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<sup>63</sup> Latin text in Gattula, *Accessiones*, p. 292.

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# Glossary of Monastic Terms

(Western equivalents are in brackets)

*Agrypnia* (Vigil); monastic term for the all-night vigil service regularly carried out at Evergetis on Saturday night and on the eve of a major feast

*akedia* (accidie); state of boredom and spiritual lethargy

*analogion* lectern

*antidoron* small pieces of unconsecrated but blessed bread distributed to the congregation by the priest at the end of the Divine Liturgy

*aphypnistes* monk whose duty it was to waken the monks for the service of *Orthros*

*Apodeipnon* (Compline); the concluding liturgical office of the day taking place after the evening meal

*apophthegmata* sayings, usually referring to the sayings of the Desert Fathers

*apotage* entrance gift or entrance offering, see *prosenexis*

*aristeterion* (refectory); another name for the *trapeza*

*askesis* austere regime of spiritual discipline

*aspasmos* ceremonial veneration or greeting with a kiss

*autodespoton* independent and self-governing

*bema* raised area in a church comprising the sanctuary

*bibliothekarios* monastic librarian

*brebion* inventory of a monastery's possessions both movable and immovable

canon (a) the whole round of liturgical practice (b) a poetical composition made up of nine odes accompanied by *troparia* chanted at *Pannychis* and *Orthros*

*charistikarios* private individual granted the administration of a monastery (see *charistike*)

*charistike* the giving of a monastery to a private individual or institution for a fixed period on certain conditions

*cheironomia* hand directions given by the *kanonarchos* to the choir

chrysobull document issued by the emperor and carrying his gold seal (*boullon*)

*deutereuon* title of a priest who could act as a vicar for a *protopresbyteros* (senior priest) in the latter's absence

*diaklysmos* collation usually taken in the *narthex* in place of a meal

*diakonetes* monk who spent most of his time on manual labour and serving the *ekklesiastikoi*

*diakonia* service or ministry carried out by a monk

*diataxis* regulation

*diatheke* will or testament

*diatyposis* regulation or ordinance

diptych tablets on which the names of those to be remembered at the Divine Liturgy were written

*docheiarios* (treasurer); monk in charge of either money or clothing and footwear  
*ekklesiarches* monk in charge of the services in the monastery's church, oratories or chapels

*ekklesiastikos* literate monk who spent most of his time carrying out the liturgical offices

*ekphrasis* description of a work of art

*ektenē* litany of fervent intercession proclaimed by the priest or deacon to which the people respond with the refrain 'Lord, have mercy' repeated three or more times

*eleutheron* description of a monastery free of imperial or patriarchal control

*enkolpion* cross or small icon worn around the neck

*enkleistos* a confined head of a male monastery

*enkleistra* cell occupied by an *enkleistos*

*ephoros* lay administrator of a monastery responsible for its economic management

*epimanikia* ornamental cuffs

*epistemonarches* the monk in charge of discipline

*epiteretes* supervisor of monks in a monastery

*epitrachelion* liturgical stole worn by a priest or bishop

*epitimion* penalty or punishment

*epitropos* as for *ephoros*

*Evergetinon* a title of the four-volume spiritual manual put together by Paul the founder of the Evergetis monastery, see also *Synagoge*

*Evergetis* epithet of the Theotokos meaning Benefactress

*exagion* measure

*exagoreusis* confession

*exaposteilarion* the *troparion* chanted after the canon

*exkousseia* exemption, from taxation in particular

*exonarthex* an outer narthex

*Gerontikon* book containing a collection of the sayings of the Desert Fathers of Egypt and Palestine

*hegoumene* (abbess); the head of a nunnery

*hegoumeneia* office of *hegoumenos* or *hegoumene*

*hegoumenos* (abbot); the head of a male monastery, see also *kathegoumenos* and *proestos*

*heirmos* the first *troparion* which sets the rhythm and the melody for those *troparia* that follow each ode of the canon

*Hesperinon* (Vespers); one of several names for Vespers

*hexapsalmos* the six psalms (3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142) chanted at the beginning of *Orthros*, after the third and the sixth psalm of which there is a triple response of *Alleluia*

*hieromonachos* monk who is also a priest

*hypomnema* decree, patriarchal or imperial

*hypotyposis* one of several names for a monastic administrative *typikon*

*iatros* doctor

*idiodespoton* description of a monastery under its own control

*incipit* first few words of a reading or prayer

indiction the civil year, which ran in cycles of fifteen years and began on 1 September

*kandelarios* monk who tended the lamps in the church

*kanonarches/os* monk in charge of the choirs and the chanting in the church services

*katechesis/seis* homily(ies) composed and delivered by the *proestos* or *hegoumenos*, or if he is unable to do so, someone deputised by him

*Katechetikon* collection of *katecheseis*

*kathegoumenos* the head of a male monastery, see also *hegoumenos* and *proestos*

*kathisma* (a) one of the twenty divisions of the psalter (b) name given to a poetic *troparion* chanted after each *kathisma* of the psalter and after the third ode of a canon, often called a poetic *kathisma*

*katholikon* the main church in a monastery where all the community met, hence its name

*kellarites* (cellarer); the monk whose duty it was to procure and provide the food for the meals

*kellia* cells

*Koimesis* (Assumption); name of the feast of the Theotokos commemorating her bodily translation to heaven, see also *Metastasis*

*koinobion* communal monastic house

*kollyba* boiled wheat mixed with raisins, pomegranate seeds, herbs and a sprinkling of roasted flour and sugar, served after a commemoration

*Kontakarion* book containing the necessary *kontakia* for *Orthros*

*kontakion* poetic stanza in honour of any feast or commemoration, chanted at *Orthros* after the sixth ode of the canon

*krasobolion* measure

*ktetor* founder

*kyr* (Lord); title given to someone denoting respect

*Kyrie eleison* refrain meaning 'Lord, have mercy'

*leipsanon* relic of a martyr or saint

*leitourgios ton taphon* see *taphiotes*

*lite* procession with solemn intercessions

*Martyrion* account of a holy man's or holy woman's martyrdom

*megadoux* title of a high-ranking military commander

*megarikon* large jug

*Mesonyktikon* midnight office

*metanoia* a prostration as an act of penitence

*Metastasis* (Assumption); the bodily translation of the Theotokos to heaven, see also *Koimesis*

*metocheiarios* senior monk in charge of a *metochion*

*metochion* daughter house of a monastery

*mystikos* private secretary of the emperor

*narthex* long vestibule across the west end of a church

*nosokomos* infirmarian

*oikonomos* monk in overall charge of the day to day administration of the monastery, usually second in command to the *proestos* or *hegoumenos*

*Orthros* (Matins); this service and Vespers are sometimes called the 'Major Hours'; at Evergetis, *Orthros* began at about 2.00am and finished about sunrise

*ostiarios* monastic door-keeper, see *thyroros* and *pyloros*

*Panegyrikon* book containing homilies by such fathers of the church as St John Chrysostom, St John of Damascus and St Gregory of Nyssa and accounts of the martyrdom of saints

*panegyris* festival

*Pannychis* at Evergetis this service usually took place immediately after Vespers; however, during the three periods of fasting it was incorporated into *Apodeipnon*

*Paramone* term for Vigil, or by extension, the eve of a major feast on which a Vigil was held

*parekklesiarches* assistant to the *ekklesiarches*

*paroikonomos* assistant to the *oikonomos*

*paroikos* dependent peasant

*Paterikon* book containing the sayings and the lives of the Desert Fathers

*Pentekostarion* liturgical book containing the *propers* from Easter Sunday to the Sunday after Pentecost

*phelonion* chasuble

*phiale* fountain usually situated outside the main door of the church

- praktikon* inventory listing the taxes, land and households held by an individual or institution
- proestos* head of a male monastery, see also *hegoumenos* and *kathegoumenos*
- pronoetes* guardian of monastery property
- propers* elements of services that are specific to a particular day
- prosenexis* entrance gift or entrance offering, see *apotage*
- proskynesis* an obeisance as an act of reverence
- protasekretis* head of the bureau of the *asekretis*, the imperial chancery
- protospatharios* court title
- pyloros* monastic gatekeeper, see *thyroros* and *ostiarios*
- sebastos* honorific title conferred on the nobility, usually members of the imperial family
- semantron/tra* flat instrument(s) made of wood or metal struck with a hammer and used to summon the monks to the church for a service, to the *trapeza* for a meal, or even to their cells for private devotions
- skeuophylakion* (sacristy, vestry); room where the liturgical objects and vestments were stored
- skeuophylax* monk in charge of the *skeuophylakion*
- sphragis* sign of the cross made by the *proestos* or *hegoumenos* on the head of a monk appointed to an office in the monastery or by a bishop as a seal of his blessing on the foundation of a new monastery or on confirming a monastic official
- sticharion* alb
- sticheron* short poetic stanza chanted on its own or as one of a group of two or three in celebration of a person or of an event
- stylos* column
- symbolon* instrument for summoning the monks to the church or the *trapeza*
- Synagoge* title of the four-volume spiritual manual put together by Paul the founder of the Evergetis monastery, see also *Evergetinon*
- Synaxarion* this word has two meanings: (a) a collection of readings from the *Lives* and *Martyria* of those holy men and women commemorated on feast days; (b) a liturgical calendar with rubrics and instructions indicating any liturgical particularities and all the liturgical *propers* for the year. Later such a document was termed a liturgical *typonikon*. At Evergetis this document has the second meaning.
- synaxis* (a) assembly for worship; (b) celebration on the first day of the after-feast period to commemorate a person intimately connected to the feast
- Synodikon* synodal epistle sent to ecclesiastical officials containing the decisions of a council
- taphiotes* monk who looked after the cemetery



*taxiarches* military commander of a thousand-man unit

*tetrapodion* low table for displaying a reliquary

*thyroros* monastic doorkeeper, see *pyloros* and *ostiarios*

*trapeza* (refectory); the large room or hall where the monks ate in almost total silence, during which spiritually uplifting literature was read

*trapezarios* the monk in charge of behaviour in the *trapeza* noting and reporting any who were late for meals or disturbed the reading during the meals

*trisagion* the 'thrice holy' hymn – 'Holy is God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal'

*troparion* short liturgical hymn

*Tropologion* book containing a collection of *troparia* and *stichera*

*typikon* either (a) monastic foundation charter, or (b) liturgical ordinal describing the services for each day

*typos* pattern or model

*vestarches* court title

*xenodocheion* hostel for visitors or the sick

*xenodocheios* monk in charge of the hostel, see *xenodocheion*

*zeugaratoi paroikoi* peasants owning a pair of oxen or land equivalent to that which needed a pair to cultivate it

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